THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 157 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 10, 1943 NUMBER 2

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Published weekly and copyright, 1943, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 807 National Press Building.

The Shape of Things

THE MASSIVE GERMAN ATTACK IN THE Orel-Belgorod sector may prove to have only limited objectives but there is good reason to believe that the long-delayed summer offensive has been launched. Although the Nazis reverted to Blitz tactics, pouring in a tremendous armored force without artillery preparation, the Red Army was not caught napping. It had fully anticipated an assault in just this part of the front and its gunners showed their alertness and skill by killing off enemy tanks in huge numbers. The Russian communique admits, however, that the Germans effected some small penetrations, and as we go to press news comes of an extension of the fighting along a 200-mile front. The immediate Nazi aim would appear to be the nipping off of the big salient held by the Russians between Orel and Belgorod; their larger hopes, as Donald W. Mitchell suggests in an article on page 36, may be to capture Voronezh—the key city they were never able to occupy fully last summer—and then to swing north against Moscow. Hitler's armies on the eastern front are still formidable, but we are confident that the Russians, even if forced to give ground, will not crack. Nevertheless, once it is certain that the Germans are committed to an eastern offensive, swift action in the west becomes imperative. For apart from the importance of relieving the pressure on Russia, we now have a chance to force the Axis to split its strength. Recent reports suggest that Germany has, after all, decided to aid in the defense of Italy. This will make the immediate task of invading Sicily more difficult but it is good news, nevertheless, for Italy can prove an even more exhausting vacuum for Germany than was Tunisia. But for the time being Germany could probably handle a Mediterranean attack without reducing its strength in Russia. To take full advantage of the present opportunity we need to open a front in western Europe as well.

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THE BEST NEWS MR. CHURCHILL WAS ABLE to give in his Guildhall speech was that of the striking defeat suffered by the U-boats in the North Atlantic during the past two months. The Germans have been counting heavily on their submarines to stave off disaster, for these are the last remaining offensive weapon that can

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be employed against growing Anglo-American power. Earlier in the year our shipping losses were very heavy and German boasts of the effectiveness of the under-sea blockade seemed altogether too well founded. But new tactics and weapons, wielded by a new combined command in the North Atlantic, have since proved their worth. Working in unison, planes, patrol boats, destroyers and other warships have overcome the massed attacks of the submarine "wolf-packs." In May between thirty and forty were sunk. The much bombed German shipyards and factories can hardly build replacements to match such losses, and the problem of providing trained crews is likely to become acute if we can maintain the pace. Reports of a mutiny of U-boat sailors in Norway must be treated with reserve but we do not forget that in the last war the morale of the German navy started to crack in the submarine division. The Nazis have frankly admitted that the tonnage of allied shipping sunk in June was the smallest for any month since the war started but they claim that the setback is only temporary and that the U-boats will soon be achieving new successes.

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IN THE DIPLOMATIC WAR BETWEEN THE United States and the Fighting French—which is rapidly turning into a war between the United States and the French people—the most important recent maneuver is the visit of General Giraud to Washington. To invite Giraud rather than De Gaulle was to underline our government's support of the status quo in North Africa and its determined opposition to the changes demanded by the Fighting French. It was a deliberate insult to De Gaulle, the more flagrant when one recalls that several times in recent months a trip to this country was projected by the Fighting French leader and at the last moment "postponed" at the request of the State Department. The effect of American behavior is proving to be exactly what we predicted last week. All reports agree that anti-American feeling in North Africa is rising; it may easily reach the point of public demonstration or even of explosion. And the bitterness of Frenchmen there is echoed in every group of free Europeans here and in England. But European democrats have been losing faith in American intentions so fast that our policy in Africa does little more than confirm their worst fears.

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A MORE OMINOUS CHANGE IS THE GROWING feeling against Britain. No longer is the Churchill government looked upon as the defender of a free Europe. The Prime Minister's unqualified indorsement of American policy, expressed in action as well as in his speech last Thursday, has generated resentment both among the governments in exile and democrats from occupied and enemy countries. They see the future of their own lands reflected in the Anglo-American attitude toward France, and what they see weakens their confidence in Britain as well as the United States. What pressure, they ask, induced Churchill to repudiate his close relationship with De Gaulle? What price did America pay for Britain's support? How many other bargains affecting the future of Europe are in the making? In this mood of gloom and suspicion it is not impossible that the hopes of the peoples of Europe will crystallize more and more around the figure of De Gaulle, whose resistance to the overbearing interference of the United States and Britain has contributed as much to his growing prestige as his unbending patriotism and his refusal to make deals with traitors and fascists. Such a division in the Allied ranks would be tragic. If it comes about it will be the work of the apostles of "expediency"—from President Roosevelt down.

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THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-TRUST SUIT against the Associated Press has put that organization under the painful necessity of showering the United Press with bouquets. Many of the seventy-seven affidavits the A. P. has filed in opposition to the government's motion for a summary judgment in the case are, in effect, testimonials to the efficiency of its chief rival and modest disclaimers of outstanding merit on its own part. This bashfulness is intended to offset the Attorney General's contention that denial of A. P. service to any paper is a substantial competitive handicap. Not at all, the A. P. retorts; any paper able to secure U. P. service can get along very well without our help. It would be unkind, perhaps, to recall the stress the A. P.'s past publicity laid on its "superior performance in all categories of the news." But we cannot resist pointing out that another group of affidavits bearing on the question of the value of A. P. memberships are at variance with its shy deprecation of talk about its "indispensability." Statements furnished by several experts, for instance, testify that the amount which an applicant must pay under the new by-laws to existing members in his field is less than the true value. In Baltimore, according to Paul Patterson, president of the company which publishes the *Sun* papers, a morning membership is worth at least $175,000 and an evening one $150,000 or more. It is difficult to see why memberships in the A. P. should be valued at such amounts, which, of course, are in addition to cash assessments paid weekly for actual service, if in fact they do not confer a competitive advantage.

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THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF THE SMALLER War Plants Corporation was to take prime contracts from war agencies and subcontract them to smaller business men. The latest report of the SWPC, as submitted to the White House by WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson,

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shows how little progress the corporation has made along these lines, though it is already more than a year old. In that time it has taken three prime contracts. One is to build an $85,000 experimental barge for the Army Engineering Corps. The second is to make $500,000 worth of reamers and arbors for the navy. The third—the only substantial one—is a $1,500,000 special contract for a group of thirty-one wood and metal furniture firms. It is significant that this contract was taken not from a war agency, but from the Federal Public Housing Authority, and that it calls not for war production but for furniture. Obviously the armed services are as hostile as ever to this scheme for parceling out war work among smaller firms, as is Nelson himself. The compromise by which the SWPC was placed under Nelson has succeeded, as we predicted at the time, in destroying most of its potentialities for good. Small business is still largely dependent on the bounty of big, which continues to subcontract according to its convenience. This convenience, now as before, is not synonymous with the best interests of war production.

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WE MUST ADMIT THAT WE ARE FASCINATED by the attitudes and methods of James C. Petrillo. We can't believe for a moment that he will in the end be allowed to abolish the transcription business—which he is frank to say has nothing to give him—in order to "get at" the radio stations which use the transcriptions. Yet his ban on recording, issued last August, still stands, and he says he is not interested in negotiation. Petrillo's basic idea of replacing every "juke-box" with a live musician seems to us about as practical and desirable as Don Quixote's desire to restore medieval chivalry. But whereas Don Quixote fought the windmills in vain, Petrillo has actually succeeded in "stopping the discs." Petrillo is clearly inviting Congressional action; he is also steadily enlisting public opinion on the side of those, in and out of Congress, who are always waiting for an excuse to attack labor unions.

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THE DETROIT RIOTS WERE GOOD NEWS TO the commentators of the Axis, who have had rather poor pickings lately as far as the war itself is concerned. The Japanese were able to tell their vast audience throughout Asia that "Americans are giving vent to their psychopathic race prejudice by hunting down innocent Negroes as they would hunt down wild beasts." The Tokyo radio quoted an editorial in the Nippon *Times* which asserted that "it is a singular fact that supposedly civilized Americans in normal times will deny Negroes the right to live in decent neighborhoods, deny them opportunity to engage in respectable jobs, deny them right or access to the same restaurant, theater, or train accommodations as themselves, and then periodically will run amok to lynch Negroes individually or to slaughter them wholesale—old men and children alike—in race wars like the present one." The French heard from their German-controlled radio that the Detroit affair was "proof of the internal disorganization of a country torn by social injustice, race hatreds, regional disputes, the violence of the irritated proletariat, of a capitalistic police whose gangsterism has often been mentioned in American literature and movies. . . . Today, on the morrow of the bloody incidents of Detroit, the French people, imbued with a sense of social justice, realize the dangers for world civilization inherent in the American aims of world domination." Is there anyone who still believes that race relations in this country are merely a domestic problem of which the solution can be deferred until the war is won?

The Case for Subsidies

THERE are three major problems to be solved with regard to our war-time food supply: How to grow enough to supply the armed forces, meet lend-lease obligations, and provide a healthy diet for civilians. How to distribute supplies fairly so that all groups in all parts of the country obtain their fair share. How to maintain prices at a level which will enable the anti-inflation line to be held.

The special task of the War Food Administration is to solve the first of these problems but Mr. Chester Davis, who has just resigned as head of that agency, took the view that in order to make sure of production he would have to exercise authority over prices and rationing. Moreover, it was clear that he leaned toward the farm-bloc's thesis that the only way to guarantee that the necessary food would be grown was to increase the incentive of the producer by letting prices rise. But as guardian of consumer interests, the OPA was bound to oppose this policy and so too was the Director of Economic Stabilization, Fred M. Vinson, who in addition to acting as umpire between the WFA and the OPA, is responsible for seeing that inflation is held in check. In line with that duty he has recently vetoed a very moderate wage increase for the lower paid railroad workers. He could hardly turn round and authorize the slipping of the leash on farm prices. For the line which the President has ordered held is already bent and will undoubtedly snap if the cost of living is allowed to advance much farther.

Must we then choose between inflation and short supplies? The subsidy program is an attempt to meet this dilemma by giving the farmers a bigger incentive to produce without making the consumer pay the cost directly. Opponents of the plan argue that subsidies merely push the burden from the citizen as consumer

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to the citizen as taxpayer and are no less inflationary than higher prices. There is an element of truth in this assertion although actually the effect of subsidies is to bring on the disease in a mild and controllable form. For a dollar injected into the system in this way may be the means of saving several dollars. If food processors raise their bid to growers under the ordinary rules of supply and demand the increase in price will snowball en route to the housewife's basket as each factor in distribution adds on his percentage margin. So that the final cost to the consumer is far greater than the added compensation to the producer. On the other hand, if the processor is given a subsidy in order to pay a better price to the farmer, his actual cost basis is not disturbed nor is that of the distributors through whom his product reaches the public.

Again, as the President pointed out in his message vetoing the C. C. C. bill with its riders hamstringing the Administration's food program, any appreciable increase in the cost of living, which is already 8 per cent higher than in May, 1942—the point at which the "Little Steel" formula was promulgated—will inevitably mean a rise in wage costs. An overall wage increase of 10 per cent would, he estimated, result in a 4½ per cent increase in the general price level and, as the government is now spending approximately $100 billion a year, this would add about $4½ billion to war costs. If, therefore, retail food prices can be stabilized and "the line" held by spending one or two billion dollars, the net saving to the taxpayer will be very considerable.

In its opposition to subsidies the Farm Bloc, which has never been adverse to interfering with the laws of supply and demand in a buyers' market, came out as the champion of laisser faire, though not, of course, to the extent of abolishing the parity price concept or abandoning crop loans. Yet everyone else agrees that in conditions of total war we cannot leave the economy to the mercy of supply and demand. What would be the price of steel if we did, or of copper or the wages of skilled mechanics? Government control is essential and it cannot be confined to certain sectors while others go untrammelled.

The great value of subsidies in a controlled economy is that they introduce a flexible element into a structure which otherwise would be too rigid. They make it possible for the government to provide incentives where they are required to stimulate extra production without risking repercussions which would upset the balance. In some cases the Food Administrator can use subsidies to underwrite "support prices" announced in advance of the planting or breeding season, so that the farmer knows in advance what minimum return he may expect. In other cases it may seem advisable for the government to buy the whole crop for resale at a loss so that wholesale and retail ceilings are not disturbed.

But if the Administration is to employ this kind of strategy successfully its hands must be left tolerably free so that it can adapt its plans to changing conditions. We hope, therefore, that as the House has sustained the President's veto of the C. C. C. bill and agreed to extend the agency's life through next January 31, the Senate will not waste time attempting to tailor a new straitjacket for the executive.

The Pacific Offensive

FOR a public anxiously awaiting news of the invasion of Europe, the American offensive in the Southwest Pacific, successful as it seems, has been somewhat disappointing. Although the coordinated land, sea, and air operations may exceed in size and scope anything previously undertaken by the United Nations in the Pacific, they seem to imply a resumption of the slow, costly process of island-hopping which we were assured had been ruled out as the basis of Allied strategy. The capture of such minute islands as Rendova, New Georgia, Woodlark, and the Trobriand group is obviously not going to have much effect on the outcome of the Pacific struggle.

But the very fact that a campaign led by MacArthur, an outspoken foe of the island-by-island strategy, starts with such minor objectives suggests that the new campaign may be part of something much bigger, the nature of which is yet to be revealed. What it is can only be a matter for speculation. The renewal of heavy air attacks on Kiska suggests that a landing on the last Japanese outpost in the Aleutians may not be far off. But if this is the beginning of the long-promised offensive against Japan, the final objective is unlikely to be the capture of outposts such as Kiska, the Solomons, or even Rabaul. It would seem more probable that attacks on the extreme south and extreme north of Japan's elongated defense lines would have as their purpose the drawing of Japanese forces toward the flanks in preparation for a powerful blow at some more crucial point near the center.

There are several vulnerable points. The Chinese have recently shown unexpected strength in minor offensives in the Rice Bowl district of the upper Yangtze and in the Hangchow area south of Shanghai. The activities around Hangchow particularly bear watching. If the Chinese succeed in clearing this region, air bases could be prepared within easy bomber range of the chief Japanese industrial centers. The United Nations already have some air bases in Chekiang province 150 to 200 miles west of Hangchow, and the Tokyo radio recently asserted that American air bases had been established in Fukien province to the south. Liberator bombers, now in China, might attack Japan from any of these points.

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Another and more likely spot for a major United Nations offensive is the Burma-Thailand area. Such a drive was widely discussed at the time of Prime Minister Churchill's recent visit to Washington. While a major offensive against Burma would presumably have to await the end of the present monsoon season, landings might be made in Thailand somewhat earlier, thus cutting off the Japanese in Burma.

A third possibility for a strong blow against Japan would be directly across the Pacific from Pearl Harbor and Midway. The first step in such a drive would presumably be the reoccupation of Wake Island, followed by attacks on Saipan, Rota, Guam, and the Bonin Islands. Many observers feel that this must be the route of the final onslaught on Japan, but it cannot be launched until the United States has unquestioned naval supremacy, particularly in battleships and aircraft carriers. Recent reports, however, indicate a tremendous strengthening of the Pacific fleet, and it is possible that we are ready for at least the initial steps of such a drive.

The launching of a sudden and rather unexpected Pacific offensive at this time has raised a question in many minds—including those of the enemy—as to whether the main 1943 drive is to be against Japan rather than Germany. Churchill's Guildhall speech seemed to imply this when he refrained from promising an invasion of Europe this summer. The renewal of second-front demands from Moscow points in the same direction. The tremendous emphasis being placed on air attacks over Germany and Italy suggests that for this summer the Allies are going to test the theory that the Axis can be knocked out by air power alone. But this again is pure guesswork. The attack in the Southwest Pacific might easily be intended to cover up preparations for a major offensive against Europe. Churchill was obviously not intending to give out any military information when he refrained from specifying an attack on Europe. His promise of "heavy fighting in the Mediterranean and elsewhere before the leaves of autumn fall" may well have been made primarily to confuse the enemy.

Whether the present Pacific offensive is the beginning of major action against Japan or a subsidiary action intended to confuse the enemy will probably not be apparent for some weeks. But the hard facts of the situation would seem to demand important action against both Japan and Germany this summer. Reliable reports from the conquered areas of the Pacific say that the Japanese are making remarkable progress in consolidating their conquests, both politically and militarily. They are still unable to make full use of the vast natural resources of the Indies, Burma, Indo-China, and China proper, but their industrial potential has grown tremendously within the past year. Information regarding Germany's war potential is more difficult to get. But the most dependable reports indicate that despite the bombings Germany is succeeding in strengthening the defensive capacities of the European Fortress each month. And unless invasion comes soon, Germany will have the full use of one of the best harvests since the war began. Sound strategy demands offensive action in both Europe and Asia. The fact that so much time has been taken in preparation may be due to slackness or over-caution—or it may be a sign that something big is brewing.

Education, Limited

WHILE grandiose plans go forward for the re-education of Europe, and the New York *Times* continues to bewail the inability of freshmen to identify James K. Polk, little is being done to remedy the desperate situation of American education. The National Education Association, meeting at Indianapolis, heard a report from Dr. Alonzo F. Myers which substantiates all that a few lonely figures like Senator Thomas of Utah have been trying to tell Congress. Dr. Myers, who is chairman of the N. E. A.'s commission for the defense of democracy through education, said that more than 100,000 rural teachers left their jobs between May and October last year. Thousands of these teachers, Dr. Myers said, are working for less than $600 a year. "Even morons can earn more than twice that amount today."

The difficulty, as Dr. George D. Strayer of Teachers College pointed out, is that there are many areas, notably in the South, where state and local resources are inadequate to maintain minimum standards of education. The only hope for such areas lies in the $300,000,000 federal-aid-to-education bill, which has been bogged down in Congress since 1937. Though Senator Thomas and other supporters of the measure have been able to show its vital relationship to the war effort—enough men for fifteen divisions have been found too nearly illiterate to serve in the army—there seems to be as little interest in the measure this year as in previous years.

The problem is not merely one of eradicating illiteracy but of providing a larger background of technical competence and scientific training for a war in which success depends more than ever before on technological efficiency. Despite the war, one finds in education as in other fields the old conflict between those who wish to maintain scarcity and those who want an all-out effort. The former are still concerned with having "too many doctors, lawyers, and engineers," and betray a general hostility to the enlightenment of the common man. The others not only see current shortages of doctors, lawyers, and engineers but are willing to face the task of building a new society in which there will be as much use for skilled minds and hands for the pursuits of peace as there are today for those of war.

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Why Wallace Spoke Out

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 2

LET no one call Henry Wallace an ineffectual dreamer. He has just won his second victory in six months over Jesse Jones. In this town, which worships "toughness" but usually mistakes the loud-mouthed for the strong, that is an achievement. For no other single figure here, unless it be the President himself, wields more political power than the arrogant banker from Houston, Texas. Last December Wallace went before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and persuaded it to abandon an amendment which would have restored Jones's power over the purchase of critical materials abroad. Danaher of Connecticut carried the ball for Jesse then, but "Don't call it my amendment" was Danaher's aggrieved comment after the hearing. This time Jones's tool was McKellar of Tennessee, with an amendment which would have given the RFC a veto over purchases by the Board of Economic Warfare. The Senate Appropriations Committee decided to abandon the amendment after the Vice-President let loose with a scorcher.

McKellar opened his campaign with a pathetic picture. "Mr. Jesse Jones," he said to the Senate on June 4, "testified a day or two ago before the so-called Economy Committee that Mr. Milo Perkins absolutely ran the entire establishment of 2,620 employees; that his word was law, even over him, Mr. Jesse Jones. . . ." The establishment referred to was the Board of Economic Warfare. The despotism, were it but true, would call for bell-ringing. Until now, nobody's word has been law for Jesse Jones, except perhaps that of a second vice-president of Standard Oil, Aluminum Company of America, or Bethlehem Steel. If it were not necessary for *someone* to obey the White House injunction against intra-Administration feuding, the President might have been lambasting him publicly long ago.

It is true, as a weary New Dealer told me recently, that "nothing in this town is so easily ignored as a White House directive." No one has been so brazenly successful in ignoring them as Jesse Jones. As early as the fall of 1940 the President instructed Jones to finance a power line which would have made New York City's idle power available to war plants in upstate New York. Consolidated Edison preferred to leave this power idle rather than risk the possibility that the same line would bring cheap St. Lawrence power to the metropolis after the war was over, and the Aluminum Company was afraid the line would encourage public development of the St. Lawrence. The line has never been completed. In August, 1940, with the President's approval, Emil Schram, then head of the RFC, promised the Bonneville Power Authority and a group of public-power authorities in the state of Washington a $70,000,000 loan to buy the Puget Sound Power and Light. The company was heavily overcapitalized, $17,000,000 in arrears on its preferred dividends, and lacked credit for the expansion of facilities to supply additional power to the new war industries of the Northwest. But this extension of public ownership was opposed by power interests, and though the President and Secretary Ickes prodded Jones for more than a year, the promised loan has yet to be granted.

I cite these facts to show that the differences between Jones and the Vice-President cannot be attributed to the latter's temperament, which happens to be mild; Jones would try the patience of a St. Francis of Assisi. No one else in Washington except the accomplished bureaucrats of the State Department has gone so far in perfecting the art of governing by *not* doing things, by mislaying documents, overlooking directives, and forgetting to sign checks. This last has been Jones's forte since the President on April 13, 1942, placed the acquisition of strategic materials in the hands of the BEW, with full power—on paper—to direct the RFC to make the necessary expenditures. The procedure is for the War Production Board to decide what critical materials are needed, and how much. The BEW negotiates the contracts. The RFC at the BEW's direction is supposed to arrange the actual purchase, transportation, and warehousing. This is what the RFC, when the royal whim dictates, forgets to do.

The Board of Economic Warfare was established on July 30, 1941. The executive order of April 13, 1942, was long overdue, as one Congressional investigation after another has demonstrated. The Vice-President's vigorous statement provides a bill of particulars on what Jones had succeeded by that time in not accomplishing. The OPM had asked for 3,000 tons of beryl ore, which is used as an alloy with copper. Jones had made one contract for 300 tons; none had been delivered. The OPM had recommended the purchase of 178,571 tons of castor seeds, which provide a hydraulic fluid for war machines and a protective coating for plane motors. None had been purchased. The OPM asked for 2,500 tons of cobalt, which strengthens high-speed cutting steels. By April 13, 1942, Jones had contracted for the purchase of 159 tons. The OPM wanted 6,000 tons of corundum from South Africa with which to grind glass and lenses for military purposes. No purchases were made. We are dependent

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on the Far East for vital fats and oils. In October, 1941, the OPM recommended the purchase of 30,000 tons. In November the figure was raised to 208,000; in January, 1942, to 308,000; in February, to 317,499. By April 13 the RFC had contracted for 2,200 tons of one type of oil; none had been delivered. "For all practical purposes," the Vice-President said, "virtually nothing was done by Mr. Jones to build a government stockpile of fats and oils even after Pearl Harbor, when the Japs were conquering the Far East." Jesse was still waging a sitzkrieg.

Palm oil is essential in making tinplate. The OPM before Pearl Harbor asked for 30,000 tons. Amount purchased by the RFC four months after Pearl Harbor: none. The RFC had bought no flax, though the OPM had recommended the purchase of 6,500 tons. It had bought only 1,210 tons of jute in India, though the OPM wanted 80,000 tons. Sisal twine is essential in harvesting crops. The OPM wanted first 100,000 and then 250,000 tons; Jones has bought about 33,600 tons. Tantalite, one of the most urgent of strategic material needs, was the subject of a flurry of correspondence before Pearl Harbor among the OPM, the State Department, and the RFC. The purchase of 1,000,000 tons was recommended; none was bought. Zirconium is essential in making flares, signals, tracer ammunition, and blasting caps. Three months before Pearl Harbor the OPM urged the purchase of "reasonable amounts" in Brazil. Four months later: no contracts to purchase had yet been made. As in most items, Jones seemed to think the reasonable amount was none at all.

Jesse Jones

No one with imagination and a sense of responsibility to our fighting men can read the Wallace statement without a sense of agony. For Jones has continued to be the biggest single bottleneck of the war program since, and despite, the April directive. The day after it was issued General MacArthur wired Washington that 2,000,000 seeds of the Far Eastern cinchona had been brought out of the Philippines on one of the last planes leaving for Australia and "must be planted *without delay.*" Cinchona produces quinine, and malaria was a more deadly foe than the Japanese on Bataan. It was proposed to plant the seeds in Costa Rica. It was not until late January, 1943, that the RFC would finally agree to provide some funds for this project. It will be 1946 before any quinine can be produced. The months lost are lives lost. "For all the full power the President has given the Board of Economic Warfare over imports," Wallace said, "we are helpless when Jesse Jones, as our banker, refuses to sign checks in accordance with our directives." If only our enemies had a Jesse Jones, too!

Henry Wallace

All the vices the worst Congressional ranters attribute to what is left of the New Deal are exemplified in Jones and the RFC. Nowhere will one find a more lush growth of bureaucratic evils; nowhere is there more red tape, nowhere more irresponsibility. Nowhere else has post-war planning—in the sinister sense—so interfered with the war effort. Jones is dominated by the petty ambition of a petty banker's mind—to show a profit on the books of the RFC when the war is over. His great fear is lest RFC operations interfere after the war with business as usual and monopoly. The war itself is incidental and peripheral in his thinking. His arrogance flows from his power; his power from the possession of the greatest money bag in history. Many members of Congress, eager to dip into its bounty for their constituents, are his flunkies.

That the Vice-President has had the courage to expose and attack this millstone around the neck of the war effort should make every decent and patriotic American grateful. That the Vice-President succeeded in killing off the McKellar amendment, as he did the Danaher amendment before it, testifies encouragingly to the existence of a substratum of good sense and non-partisanship in the Senate. But if Jones and his reactionary Southern friends have their way, Wallace will pay for his temerity with the Vice-Presidency. They want the nomination for one of themselves in 1944, and they want Wallace's political scalp.

The first vehicle chosen for the attack is the Byrd committee, which, after meekly accepting Jones's refusal to let it look into the books of the RFC, is now dutifully to be let loose on the BEW. Jones's own reply to the Wallace statement is of interest only to the student of semantics; it rests on over-all figures as to his "commitments" and what he "initiated." There is always a big gap between Jones's commitments and his actual expendi-

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tures; the latest report of the RFC subsidiary which buys up certain commodities to keep them out of the hands of the Axis shows an impressive total of $226,000,000 in authorizations—but only $30,000,000 in actual disbursements. Jones cannot afford the investigation on which he loudly insists, and must take the offensive. In that offensive he will have strong support in Congress and even stronger support in the press. For Jones may be staking his future on his attack upon Wallace, and the future of big business is tied up with Jones. His Defense Plant Corporation owns $7,000,000,000 worth of facilities in the aviation, aluminum, synthetic-rubber, magnesium, steel, machine-tool, automotive, radio, and mining industries. And their post-war disposal must be kept in safe hands. On the bargain counter of a post-war deflation, these facilities will lay the basis for fabulous private fortunes. In New Dealish hands they would be a threat to monopoly. "We do not have anybody in our organization," Jones boasted to the House Appropriations Committee in February, "that has any queer ideas." Big business dare not let so sound a thinker go down the drain, whatever comfort his small-mindedness may bring the Axis. Thus Jones and Wallace not only symbolize the best and worst tendencies in the war effort, as in American life, but are the focal points of the forces striving for mastery of our post-war future. Not only the lives of many in the field but the kind of America to which they will return depends in large part on the outcome of this struggle between the small-town Texas banker and the farmer-idealist from Iowa.

Hitler's Russian Dilemma

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

AS THE third year of the Russian war gets under way, Hitler faces one of the most difficult decisions of his career. His chances of carrying out a successful offensive are at best slim. Yet if he does not attempt a major attack to eliminate his most immediately dangerous foe, he will have to turn to face the United Nations in the west with the unbeaten Red Army at his back.

A prolonged feeling-out of strengths and weaknesses has been taking place along the thousand-mile front. German planes, borrowing the tactics of the R. A. F., have attempted to neutralize many of the cities behind the Russian lines, while the Soviet air force has concentrated on communications and transport facilities. Both sides have claimed disproportionate enemy air losses, the Russian claim being the more credible. Land attacks have been on a small scale, handicapped by difficult roads. Now, with an unusually protracted spring finally over and the roads passable again, the two most formidable armies on earth may at any moment spring into action along what is still the most important front of the war.

The Nazis, however, cannot attempt a smash-through in Russia with as great striking power as they had in 1941 or 1942. Many of the 218 divisions on the Russian front are below normal strength and have recently been regrouped. The Stalingrad and Tunisia débâcles cost the Germans large numbers of their best troops. That such losses are not necessarily fatal was shown by the Russians last year, when they got a little better than a draw after huge losses of first-line troops in 1941. But whether the Germans, with a smaller population from which to obtain reserves and with large commitments elsewhere, will be able to duplicate this performance is open to grave doubt.

With respect to air power they are in an even worse position. In 1941 and 1942 German ground forces operated under a protecting umbrella of planes which in both quantity and quality were superior to those of the Russians. Today this superiority is no longer present. Constant fighting and Allied bombing of German production centers have worn down the Luftwaffe to a point where it no longer can control the skies. Furthermore, the best pilots having been expended, the Germans have foolishly thrown in undertrained men—with a resultant increase of losses. Even without the lend-lease aid of its Western allies, Russia is producing today practically as many planes as Germany. And Russia has two great additional advantages: its new production centers are out of range of German bombing, and it is able to concentrate its forces against the Germans without worrying about the need for them elsewhere. The weakening of the Luftwaffe, first remarked in Western Europe less than a year ago, has become so general that Hitler is now inferior on every front.

Nor is there any likelihood that time will repair German weaknesses. The Russian industrial machine, while injured by the enemy's seizure of territory and resources, was able to move eastward out of reach, but this kind of escape is not possible for Germany. The attrition of blockade and aerial bombing is slowly but surely reducing the Nazis' war potential. The best indication of this is that Germany, despite the use of slave labor, is today producing 20 per cent less than a year ago. Meanwhile the American, British, and Russian industrial machines

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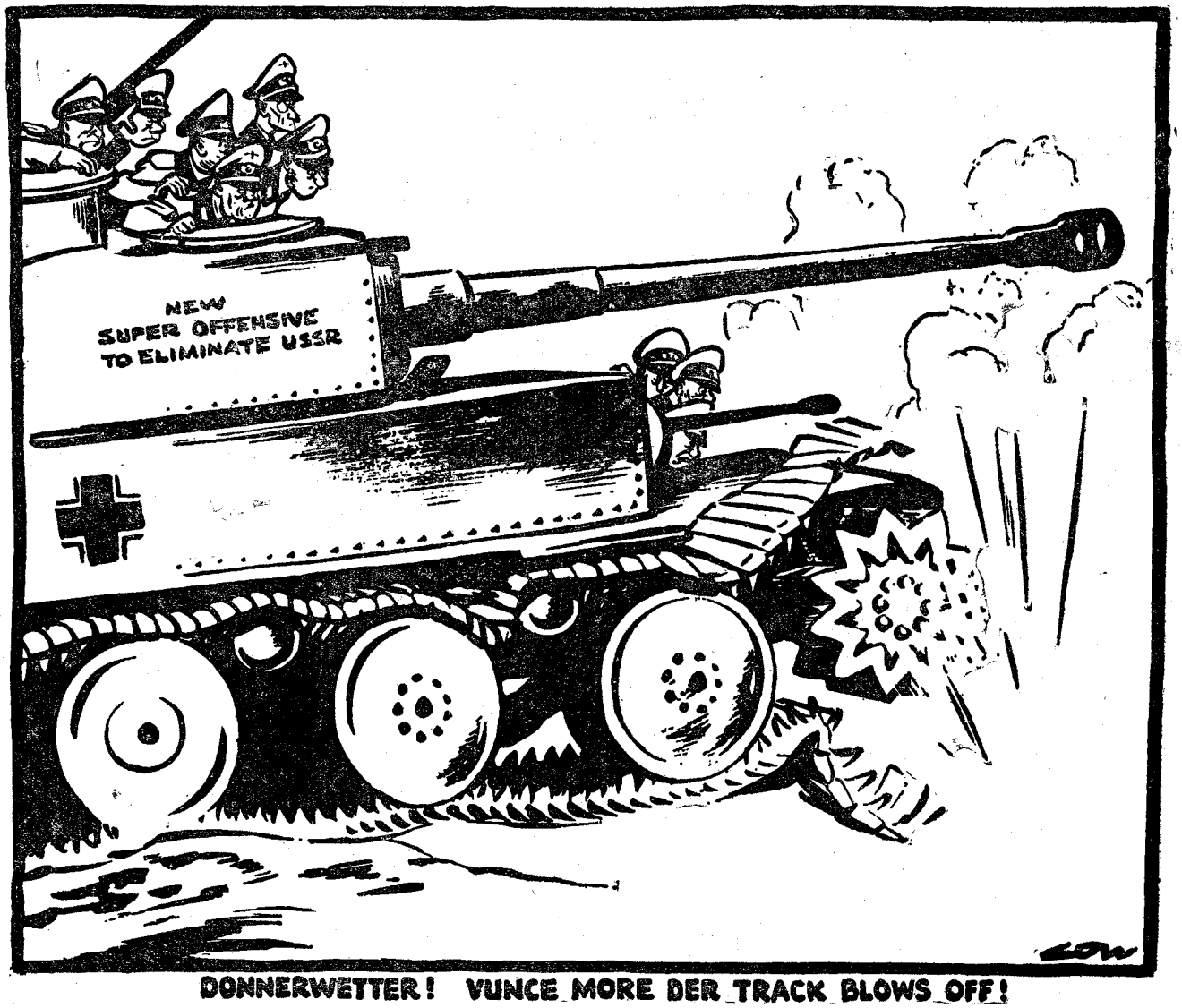
are building up an ever-mounting superiority in weapons. This advantage is qualitative as well as numerical, for the Germans, beset by many urgent needs, have done little retooling and brought out very few new weapons.

The Russians, it is true, have also suffered great losses of military man-power. Claiming 6,400,000 Germans killed and captured, they have admitted 4,200,000 casualties of their own. Their figures for the German losses are certainly too high and for their own too low; reversal of the two totals would probably be more nearly correct. Among the Russian casualties are scores of the best Soviet divisions, destroyed in the Blitzkrieg. In addition, the territory occupied by the enemy normally contained 50,000,000 people. Many of these were evacuated, but the rest have been lost to Stalin as workers and as military reserves. However, as I said, these losses, most of them sustained in 1941, did not prevent the Red Army from coming back forcefully in 1942.

Unlike the *Wehrmacht,* the Red Army has steadily improved in organization and technical development. The awkward system of dual command was abolished over a year ago. Discipline has been tightened and the position of the officer exalted. The original pattern of army organization, which failed to get the greatest value out of armored units because of their dispersion, has been altered. Divisions have been streamlined, made harder hitting. To the existing superiority in artillery there has been added at least parity in the air. The proper tactics for stopping a Blitzkrieg have been in use for a year and a half. The triumvirate in charge of military affairs at the opening of the war has been replaced by younger and more vigorous men whose reputations have been made in actual battle. In spite of its staggering losses the Red Army is probably more formidable than it was in 1941, while the *Wehrmacht* is clearly less so.

We should not imagine, however, that this phase of the war has been won. The Germans have abundant room in which to retreat. They have never given up except when convinced of the hopelessness of their position, and they have usually required a great deal of convincing. The skill of their commanders was demonstrated last March when, after experiencing a bad defeat, they extricated their troops from a position in which they could easily have met a major disaster.



DONNERWETTER! VUNCE MORE DER TRACK BLOWS OFF!

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Nevertheless, they are in a most difficult strategic situation. Several courses are open to Hitler: (1) he can throw everything into a full-scale attack on Russia designed to destroy the Red Army and win the war on that one front; (2) he can make local attacks with the object of harassing the Russians and keeping them from launching their own offensive; (3) he can attempt merely to hold his ground in the east while swinging all his available forces to meet an expected Anglo-American attack in the west; (4) he can execute a planned retreat to prepared positions well back of the present front; or (5) the decision may be taken out of his hands by concerted action of his foes.

An all-out attack would require him to employ all available reserves at a time when the shortage of manpower has become a pressing German problem. And unless the Anglo-American armies first commit themselves to campaigning in an area where they are not likely to hurt Hitler greatly, they would then have a good chance of beating Germany in the west. Yet German national psychology demands an attack, and attack offers the only chance of winning with waning forces against foes steadily increasing in strength.

The concentration of about half of Germany's 218 divisions on the central front has suggested to some a coming attack in the Orel-Belgorod sector, a push through Voronezh, and then an attempt to take Moscow from the south. The German hope here—a faint one—would be that the Red Army would be so crippled by an unsuccessful defense as to lose much of its immediate offensive possibilities; the taking of Moscow, of course, would injure both the national morale and the industrial power of the Soviet Union. An offensive of this size, however, would involve large numbers of men and presumably entail heavy losses.

An attempt merely to hold present gains would not offer much hope of a German victory, for the offensive strength of the Red Army is now well developed. In the winter of 1941 the Germans held large areas with numerically inferior forces, but an attempt to do the same thing against improved Russian tactics in 1942 brought crushing defeats.

The only course which will give the Germans a chance to concentrate most of their forces in the west is rapid but well-prepared retreat. This would trade territory for time and delay a real Russian offensive until new transport lines could be set up. It would probably afford Hitler two or three months in which to work in the west. But it would also bring Russian bombers closer to western Germany and probably have a serious effect on German morale. It would, indeed, be interpreted as a clear admission of defeat.

It is to be hoped that even this choice between undesirable alternatives will not be left to Hitler. He must not be allowed to decide whether to concentrate his forces in the east or the west. The war has reached a stage comparable to 1918 in World War I, and we should this summer strike blows which will bring measurably closer the complete defeat of fascism.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SUCCESS of the Belgians in wresting universal suffrage from the fears of the ruling classes seems to have inspired the Austrian workingmen to labor for a similar result. . . . The suffrage in Austria is now given to all who pay a minimum of five florins in direct taxes. To make it universal is now the avowed object of the leaders of the workingmen's party.—*July 6, 1893.*

THE HON. THOMAS J. GEARY of California . . . expounds and defends the Chinese Exclusion law of 1892 in the July *North American Review.* It is all a mistake, he assures us, to regard the "intention" of the law as "harsh" or "unjust" or even "unreasonable." . . . The pure and undiluted Geary appears in the bill called up by him on April 4, 1892, and supported by him in a speech. . . . He met the argument that his bill was in violation of treaty obligations by valiantly saying: "I do not care what treaty may stand in the way. . . . I am prepared to abrogate every such treaty, to violate every such law."—*July 13, 1893.*

GUY DE MAUPASSANT. The news of the death of this brilliant writer comes not unexpectedly, and lovers of literature will regret that no more of those marvelously strong tales which make De Maupassant's real fame will ever again appear to delight and entrance them.—*July 13, 1893.*

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS has recently voted that in raising funds for metropolitan improvements the land immediately benefited shall contribute, as well as the taxpayers at large. . . . But . . . the landowners in London as a class . . . maintain that among their "vested rights of property" is one that all increments of value, however arising, shall go to the landlord. It is perhaps owing partly to this bigoted and irrational conservatism that socialistic proposals have come into so much favor of late years in England.—*July 13, 1893.*

IT SEEMS to be settled that two new saints are soon to be added to the calendar. . . . Columbus's fitness for sainthood has long been a moot point with Catholic historians, but few would venture to oppose it in this quartercentenary year. . . . In connection with the proposal to canonize Joan of Arc, fear was expressed by a considerate French prelate that such an act might wound English susceptibilities. Thereupon the Catholic hierarchy of Great Britain was consulted on the point, and reported that Joan as a saint would be "well received" in their country.—*July 20, 1893.*

THE LABOR COMMISSION of Iowa has been investigating the subject of teachers' salaries, and finds that they are extraordinarily small. Returns . . . show an average salary of only $243.16 for women and $298.30 for men. This is much below the wages paid unskilled labor.—*July 27, 1893.*

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Great Britain's Post-War Role

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

London, June 7

IN BRITAIN as in America you find a good deal of apprehension about the fact that no one seems to be dealing with the problems of post-war reconstruction in a large way. It is generally assumed that Mr. Eden, both by virtue of his office and by predilection, is sketching some general plans for the partnership of the United Nations after the war. But nothing sufficiently definite to stir the public imagination has yet emerged.

This does not mean that Britons are anxious for some Woodrow Wilson to rise up with a plan for a new League of Nations. They are skeptical of general schemes of world order, not only because their own historical approach is incompatible with too ambitious blueprints, but also because they fear that American "idealists" might present them with some ideal scheme which American "realists" might again repudiate. Interest in what America will do after the war and anxious inquiry about the danger of a new withdrawal greet the American visitor on every hand. American isolationists may interpret this interest as a betrayal of Britain's desire to have help in its European problems. I should say, rather, that it springs from a very realistic and essentially moral understanding of the world situation. This understanding includes recognition of the fact that the world must achieve some kind of stable order, that such an order requires more than the old balance-of-power strategy, and that no one nation is able to establish it.

Among those who think seriously of post-war issues there is quite general agreement that Britain may find its most creative role in post-war politics in acting as a broker between Russia and America in the triumvirate of nations which are bound to be preponderant in the post-war world. China may be excluded for the moment because its latent power will be exerted in Asia alone.

The big question is how intimately and mutually these three great nations may work out their common problems. I find the British attitude toward this great task promising because it seems to be in accord with the realities. The British are, for instance, in no mood to make a choice between an American or a Russian partnership. Reasons of national self-interest would deter them, because they know very well that without Russia a partnership with America would give them the role of a very junior member in the firm, while a partnership with Russia alone would expose them to various pressures which might prove extremely embarrassing. It is obvious that the three powers must hold together to form a nucleus for a world organization; it is also obvious that Britain is geographically and otherwise best able to act as an equilibrator of the partnership. For though Russian mistrust of the West remains, Anglo-Russian friendship has gone much farther toward dissipating it than anything we have done or can do for some time.

That Britain is closer to us than Russia is, is a truism. From one perspective the real gulf is between the Anglo-Saxon, democratic, bourgeois, quasi-Christian, and quasi-liberal world and the vast empire which is being reared upon the foundation of Communist religion. The gulf is deep even though Russia is patently anxious to disavow any part of the Communist creed which brings it into too overt conflict with the West. That Britain is closer to Russia than we are may require some proof. The geographical relation is obvious enough. They are both quasi-European powers with their heads in Europe and their limbs sprawled over other continents. But this common interest in Europe is less likely to lead to conflict than many have surmised, primarily because Russia gives no indication of desiring an active part in Continental reconstruction.

It will of course exercise the power of veto over any arrangements which would place actively anti-Communist or anti-Russian forces in control of the Continent. And on this score it is, not without reason, more fearful of our policy than of Britain's. But Russia's desire to rebuild its own land in peace and security will be the dominant motive of all its policies, and that task will absorb its resources for a long while to come. The devastation in Russia has been underestimated in America, though the pleas for help in securing food supplies made by the Soviet delegates at the Hot Springs conference may have given an inkling of the true state of affairs.

I do not pretend to know—and I have found no one who does know—what Russia will do about the various radical ferments and revolutions which are bound to break out in Europe. But it is a fairly safe guess that it will not encourage them unless it is obliged to frustrate attempts at a reactionary solution of the Continental problem. One contribution which the Soviets will probably make toward the peace will be to oppose the dismemberment of Germany, a policy ominously favored by certain circles in both Anglo-Saxon countries.

The British-Russian affinity, beyond the geographic fact, depends upon several factors, some historical and some consciously contrived. Among the latter must be mentioned the facilities for exchange of news and cul-

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tural information between the two countries, which so far go beyond anything we know in America. One finds here Russian exhibits of many kinds in great profusion. The sense of partnership with Russia in the immediate struggle is much more intense than with us, having been fostered by two years of relief from the air war which devastated British cities.

Among the historical factors a politico-economic and a cultural one deserve mention. Britain is a capitalist, not a Communist, nation; there is little prospect even of labor gaining control after the war. Nevertheless, Britain has accepted not only planning but the prospect of increasing government control of economic processes with a unanimity quite inconceivable in America. The difference in temper upon this point is best illustrated by the attitude of our two nations toward war-time restrictions. In Britain food rationing is accepted with an enthusiasm which strikes an American, accustomed to grousing upon the subject, as remarkable. I do not know how often I have heard the hope expressed that some kind of rationing will continue after the war. The reason given is that it is just. The sense of equality between rich and poor that it creates, the feeling of the poor that the rich have no advantage over them, is constantly expressed. (The equality is not perfect, as you may note when you eat at the Savoy or the Dorchester. But there is basic equality.)

Though Britain has not finally concluded the debate on planning, which indeed will proceed throughout the whole world for decades to come, it has arrived at conclusions about minimal standards of social control which will continue to arouse acute controversy among us and between us and the Russians. Here Britain quite obviously occupies the middle ground.

The cultural factor worth mentioning is that though in Britain as in America the atheism of Russia is a hazard to a partnership, the Catholic church is much less powerful in Britain than in America. I do not mean that only Catholics are concerned about this issue. But they have an *idée-fixe* upon this subject, and most Protestants do not. In Britain there is a strong inclination to let history take its course and to hope that every kind of freedom in Russia, including religious freedom, will have more chance if Russia is in partnership with us than if it is in conflict. The strong social interests of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Temple, and his great prudence in this matter help to set the tone of religious Britain.

On one question there is a sharp difference between political and religious opinion, and that is the future of the Baltic states, which Russia claims as part of its defense system. In political circles there is an inclination to yield this point, but influential churchmen hope that some effort will be made to secure at least cultural (religious) autonomy for the Baltic countries.

I would not claim that the role of mediator and equilibrator for Britain is consciously projected by any large British public. But I have met the idea with significant frequency among thoughtful people. And the historical facts seem to give it real validity and promise. It will take "a bit of doing." But if it can be carried out, it will obviously furnish that accord between self-interest and general interest which it must be the design of statesmanship to achieve. There is every indication that Russia would welcome such a three-cornered partnership. Surely it would be to our advantage also, though it will be some time before we know whether America appreciates that fact with any degree of unanimity.

America's Pampered Husbands

BY EDITH M. STERN

AS A disillusioned feminist (from the twenties) I have followed with interest the contradictions and confusions in the press and radio campaign to recruit women for war industry. Women are praised to the skies because so many of them have entered war plants; but the situation is serious because so many more women are needed. Women with small children shouldn't work in war plants; but communities should provide nurseries so women with small children can do so. We must cut down on laundry service, restaurants, and store deliveries to release people for war work; but housewives should take full-time employment in war plants. It's marvelous how women used to only such light work as washing windows, turning double-bed mattresses, scrubbing floors, and hanging up wet sheets are holding up at machines, and how the feminine hands that hitherto touched nothing unlovelier than garbage or soiled diapers dip without squeamishness into grease and oil. And so on.

Out of all the bunkum and inconsistencies a few clear facts emerge: that the supply of regular working girls and women—drawn from beauty parlors or schoolrooms or offices or restaurants or other people's kitchens—is pretty well exhausted; that the 3,000,000 additional women needed in war industry this year will have to be recruited among housewives; that the appeals—effective at first—of patriotism, high wages, and glamor by way of pictures of Powers-model welders aren't making housewives en masse exchange their bungalow aprons for

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slacks; and that if we aren't going to lose this war for lack of woman power, something will have to be done, not about women, but about men.

For the unorganized but powerful pressure group of American husbands is the greatest obstacle to all-out employment of middle-class American wives. It isn't only, as a recent Gallup poll showed, that there are more married women who are unqualifiedly willing to take full-time employment in war plants than married men who are unqualifiedly willing to have their wives take such employment. Husbandly pressure on housewives not to enlist for the war-production front takes much subtler forms than an overt "I object." Largely, it shapes up as men's time-hallowed, unspoken refusal to share in home responsibilities, an attitude that puts an intolerable double burden on the working wife.

Women who are doing men's work in war plants today are doing men's work and women's work. The costs in physical and nervous energy have not yet been reckoned, but if we expect more women to volunteer for men's traditional work, more men must take over some of women's traditional work.

Not a hint of this clear-cut solution for a grave problem has crept into any of the women-in-war-industry discussions I have examined. An article in the February *Fortune* pointed out that even when there are provisions for care of the children, the working mother must still market, cook, launder, and clean. "These [activities] stretch her working day another four to six hours unless she receives concessions not normally given." That her husband might make some of the concessions is not suggested.

At that, *Fortune* is more realistic than most of its contemporaries. In the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *This Week* blithe gurglings have glorified the woman with a double job, have shown how merrily war-working mothers find time to do the family washing at night and to decorate birthday cakes as usual. But what housewife in her right mind, now comfortably supported by her husband and satisfying her patriotic urges by Red Cross work and by collecting silk stockings and fats and tin cans, would want to change places with welder Annie James, recently so enthusiastically pictured in the *Reader's Digest*?

Annie, we are told, thrives "on the combination of home and job. . . . Every day except Sunday . . . there is a hectic period between 4:20, when Annie comes home, and 4:40, when her husband leaves for his night shift in a metal company. In that twenty minutes her husband eats his dinner (he won't eat until she comes home), and she prepares his midnight lunch (it doesn't taste good otherwise)." Touching, of course, that Annie's husband is so devoted. But since they both work the same number of hours, at equally heavy work, it is conceivable that Mr. James might, occasionally, eat and clean up before Annie returns, or take turns fixing Annie's lunch for her. "After he leaves," the paean runs on, "she does the housework."

Annie, who has adolescent children, was described in happy contrast to Mrs. Meng, mother of a four-year-old. She "had just finished the supper dishes when I arrived. She looked near the breaking-point. . . . Her young husband seemed worried about her." But if he helped her with the supper dishes, the article failed to mention it.

Even when the services that the average wife performs in the average household don't involve much time or physical labor, even where a servant can be obtained and held, home-making minutiae are distracting and energy-draining. When household equipment needs replacement, when the children's shoe size changes, when the toothpaste runs out, it is Mother and not Father who scribbles memoranda on scraps of paper and squeezes in the necessary shopping sometime, somewhere. Trivia? Maybe. But more women would be ready to take on full-time outside employment if they had the assurance that such trivia would not devolve exclusively upon them.

Why can't a father escort youngsters to the doctor or the dentist? Are consultations with teacher something that requires only that feminine touch now needed at grinders? If a woman can learn to run a drill press, why can't a man learn to run a washing-machine or an electric mangle? In short, if women must by war necessity work outside the home, isn't it equally a war necessity that men work inside?

It is evident that men, however much they pooh-pooh housework, however loudly they proclaim, "Women make too much fuss about it" or "I could do it with one hand tied behind my back," are fully aware of the extent of the services rendered to them by their wives. If they were not, they would not so diligently rationalize their desire to keep the little woman at home. The work might be too heavy for her, for instance—though for years she has done heavy cleaning, washed kitchen walls, climbed up and down stepladders, lugged heavy coats up to the attic in summer and lugged them down again in winter. She might become tired—though she has sat up night after night with sick children while he slept, and has given him his breakfast as usual in the morning. It might not be safe—regardless of the fact that most accidents occur in homes, not in factories.

Underlying his unprecedented consideration for his wife is John Doe's unconscious fear that life would be less comfortable for him if Jane Doe were tied up in a war plant eight hours a day. And this fear is transmitted to Jane Doe. She has been so well schooled in her duties to her husband, by him, by her mother, by her grandmother, and by the women's magazines, that she would consider herself derelict if she let up on her home-making merely because she works as hard as he does. She does not envision exchanging a mop for a drill press,

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but tending a drill press for eight hours a day and wielding the mop before or after shifts.

So for the present, since John is able to support her, she is settling for the mop, thank you. And you can't blame her. It is not that she doesn't want to help win the war, or that she prefers housework to shop work. She realizes that there are gaiety and sociability in a shop never found in her solitary kitchen; no iceman comes in nowadays, and even the Fuller brush boys have been drafted. She is thoroughly aware that eight hours a day at a machine is less exhausting than twelve hours at domestic drudgery. Simply, and mathematically, she realizes that she has the strength of only one person, and that there are only twenty-four hours in a day.

Two people, however, have the strength of two, and their combined hours equal forty-eight. Pulling together, wives and husbands can work both outside and inside the home. If pampered males would take on more home-making responsibilities, the American home would be not disrupted but strengthened. A new, genuine companionship would develop between husbands and wives, now separated by divergent, sex-bounded interests. Children would benefit from father-care as well as mother-care. The point is proved by the experience of the professional classes, where "man's work" and "woman's work" are not nearly so rigidly defined as in other groups. Many a career woman can testify that all she is and hopes to be she owes to her "angel husband," who trots Johnny to the shoestore when she has an important business appointment and helps with the dishes when she is just as tired as he is.

The task of reeducating men to a new role in the home will not be an easy one. It is, however, an essential task if we hope to induce women to volunteer for war industry or if we are going to draft them without destroying them. A nation becoming accustomed to rationing, to doing without a car, and to casualty lists should not find the difficulty insuperable. Indeed, it must not, or we shall deliver too little and too late!

In the Wind

AN ADVERTISEMENT denouncing anti-Semitism in textbooks has appeared under the sponsorship of the Protestant Textbook Commission in the Philadelphia *Record,* the Chicago *Sun,* and the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *Telegraph.* The New York *Times* did not consider it fit to print.

AT THIS WRITING the Communists have not yet seized control of Boston, though the movie version of "Mission to Moscow" opened there on July 1. A City Council resolution had called on Mayor Tobin to ban the film. Councilman Matthew F. Hanley, in a speech for the resolution, called Stalin "the greatest murderer the world has ever seen and the greatest ambassador from the pits of hell whose name has ever been written into the dirty pages of history."

DURING THE first half of June, says the James S. Twohey Weekly Analysis of Newspaper Opinion, "out of all political comment, 53 per cent is devoted to various activities of Wendell Willkie, with 30 per cent of the papers praising him as an internationalist, 15 per cent condemning him for the same reason."

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS are fighting any reduction in their paper allotments. But *Tide* reports: "One of Britain's chief newspaper owners is saying privately that he will never return to the pre-war type of publishing, with big editions bulging with news, opinion, and advertising. Reason: he can make more money, and have fewer problems, in eight pages."

WILL O. WALTON of the Alabama state senate has offered an amendment to the state constitution which would bar from voting, holding office, or serving on juries any person who advocates abolition of racial segregation. The legal basis for the bar would be to classify such persons as "moral degenerates."

PAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY was placed on a firm foundation in a recent speech by Alberto Magno-Rodrígues of the inter-American department of the American Standards Association: "Behind all human activities some selfish motive will always be found. . . . It is on this high level of self-interest, on a policy of fair 'give and take,' and on the maintenance of a free-enterprise system . . . that I should like to see the inter-trade of the Americas built up."

BRIGHT POST-WAR PROSPECTS for air transport are attracting "outsiders," to the disgust of the established air lines. Recently the Greyhound Bus Corporation applied to the Civil Aeronautics Board for seventy-eight helicopter routes covering 49,103 miles, and the Keeshin trucking interests are seeking permission for a network of aerial freight routes. C. B. Bedell-Monro, president of the Pennsylvania-Central Airlines, in an interview with *American Aviation,* denounced these applications as a menace to the industry and an attempt to "create monopolies of the worst type."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Gestapo has burned the manuscript of a Lithuanian dictionary which had required forty years to compile. . . . A Nazi news analyst on the Prague radio offers this view of the future: "It will take the English ten years to enable Stalin to occupy Europe, than another ten years to defeat Japan, and then England and America will need yet another ten years to fight Soviet Russia and get Europe back from her in order that Jewish democracy can be installed there." . . . The Nazi administration of Brussels showed its interest in Belgian culture by arranging a celebration on the fifth anniversary of the Flemish literary magazine *Today and Tomorrow.* No one connected with the magazine showed up.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Argentina Buries Democracy

[*Rightly concerned about developments in the Argentine, both press and radio in the United States continue to watch closely every move Ramirez makes. It cost no great effort to unmask him and his associates in their pretended support of inter-American solidarity. By now everybody knows that their sympathies have been and remain with the Axis and that should they break off diplomatic relations with Berlin it would only be in order to compete with their neighbors in the enjoyment of lend-lease. The new government's disregard for the constitution became evident through the dissolution of Congress and the "postponement" of the fall elections. Less known is the positive political program for which it stands. The articles which follow, by John W. White, for many years correspondent for American newspapers in Buenos Aires, and Manuel Seoane, editor of the* Ercilla, *of Santiago, Chile, give a complete picture of the fascism that has installed itself on the River Plata, menacing not only South America but the entire hemisphere.*]

Blueprint for a Fascist Utopia

BY JOHN W. WHITE

SOME TIME ago General Pedro P. Ramirez and his Nationalist Party formulated a "minimum program of action" for the assassination and burial of democracy in Argentina, and since the General's accession to power they have begun to put it in operation. This blueprint for a fascist Utopia was published in pamphlet form and distributed among members of the Nationalist militia throughout the country. I have a copy in my possession and have used it as the basis for the following account of Argentine fascism.

The first item on the program provides for the dissolution of all three branches of the democratic state—executive, legislative, and judicial. This was the first action taken by the new military government. It eliminated the executive branch by forcing Castillo to resign, the legislative by dissolving Congress, and the judicial by establishing martial law.

Argentina's Nationalist movement makes the familiar fascist plea that democracy has failed to solve the country's economic problems. Its persuasive propaganda seeks to create a mass movement of discontent, especially among the rapidly growing middle class, and to justify the need for rule by force. At the same time, it is attempting to convert democratic-minded Argentines to new ideas. The Rights of Man "as proclaimed by the leftist hordes" are to be supplanted by "the obligation of the citizen toward society and the state." "Society has no duties toward the individual; it has only powers." It may recognize certain rights of the individual on the condition of his "unqualified acceptance of certain duties to the state." "The liberty of conscience in democracy is nothing more or less than the liberty of rebellion in anarchy."

Leaders of the Nationalist movement do not allow their followers to forget for a moment the words spoken by General Uriburu, leader of the 1930 revolt, to the officers who supported him: "The revolution was directed against a system, not a party." Argentina's Nationalists are pledged to carry on Uriburu's fascist revolution until they have supplanted democracy by a corporative state, a replica of the one set up by Mussolini.

All political parties are to be abolished. The vote will not be a right of citizenship but of economic functions. The energy now expended in political controversy is to be dedicated to the advancement and progress of the community. Jews and Communists will be "handled with a maximum of energy," an Argentine euphemism for "liquidated."

A close relationship will be maintained between the schools and the military; the military training of the child is to begin in the primary grades. The army is to be greatly enlarged and so trained that it can take over the operation of industries, especially those owned by foreigners, whenever that step is considered desirable. The state will recognize and foster the existence of volunteer militias for "the formation of the national consciousness"—that is, for the intimidation of civilians.

The new corporative state is to be based on seven corporation councils, or guilds, similar to the twenty-two which Mussolini created. Commerce, communications, agriculture, cattle-raising, trade and industry, banking and insurance, and the arts and professions are each to form a guild. These are to be represented on a unicameral National Council of Corporations which will replace Congress and permit the new state to direct Argentina's economic destiny. "We want a state," the program says, "in which the agrarian organization shall respond to the interests of the country and not be subject to foreign economic interests"—meaning the American and British packing plants.

Although the Nationalist appeal is directed to the habitual discontent of the middle class, the program embodies all the well-known aspirations of the wealthy

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cattle barons and absentee landlords who are financing the movement and who will be the only gainers from the establishment of a corporative state. "Nationalism proposes a state based on the active elements of the national community and the interdependence of individual interests," the blueprint states. By these "active elements" are meant the cattle interests and the landlords, who usually refer to themselves as the "live forces" of the community. The "interdependence of individual interests" means the subordination of the interests of everyone else to those of the rulers of the country.

The Argentine conservatives know that they must kill democracy or lose for all time their control of the government. The vote-conscious masses in Argentina are democrats, and they have become too numerous for the security of the conservatives. Organized labor is one of the "leftist" democratic forces which the new state proposes to suppress. Relations between capital and labor will be similar to those prevailing in Italy under Mussolini's "Charter of Labor." The state will guarantee harmony between capital and labor by the simple means of prohibiting strikes, lockouts, and other forms of class struggle. Disputes which cannot be settled by the guilds will be decided by labor courts from whose rulings there will be no appeal.

It is significant that the leaders of the Nationalist Party are men who have failed in politics or in their chosen careers, or army officers who in their impressionable youth were attached to the Germany army. The blueprint of the new state holds out special bait to tempt frustrated individuals into the haven of the Nationalist movement. In each guild, for instance, capital, labor, and technicians are to have an equal number of representatives, the inclusion of technicians being for the purpose of attracting dissatisfied young agrarians, accountants, chemists, geologists, and the like by giving them a voice in the government. These young men form the backbone of the civic militias which are preparing the way for the new state. The leaders of the Nationalist movement have restored to them their self-respect by supplying the uniform, the club, and the gun which enable them to beat up those who disagree with them.

Argentina's New Rulers

BY MANUEL SEOANE

Santiago, Chile, June 15

THE military revolt which broke out in Argentina on the first of the month was the second step in a long process. In September, 1930, when General Uriburu came to power through a coup d'état, Argentina, an exemplary democracy, fell under the sway of a group of military men who were anxious to end the influence of popular parties and to impose their will upon the country. Uriburu was a fascist—self-confessed and self-convicted. But, sure of his mastery over the popular mind, he announced an election, and his unexpected defeat reopened the doors of the Casa Rosada to the civil political parties.

Thirteen years later his comrades in arms sought the complete realization of their dream. Reactionary as he was, Castillo did not satisfy them. Though he was friendly to the Axis, he was a weak executive, and they feared he would be unable to prevent the Radical Party and other forces of the left from participating again in the conduct of public affairs. The generals, trained by German officers and steeped in Nazi ideology, recognized the force of the fascist principle that power cannot be shared with weak, irresolute men. So on June 4 they deposed Castillo and set up a government dedicated to the establishment of a real fascist regime.

Their fascism, however, does not blind them to the fact that the military star of the Axis is waning. They see that outwardly they must give some support to the cause of the United Nations if Argentina is to be accepted into the inter-American order. But they believe it is possible to combine fascism at home and democracy abroad. Allied diplomacy has made it possible. If Vargas and Trujillo enjoy the full favor of Washington, why should General Ramirez be less fortunate?

The internal policy of the generals is as clear as spring water. The lessons of the past have been well learned. I am willing to wager that the September elections will not take place. As he gains in strength, Ramirez will eliminate political parties, one by one. He will organize his own shock troops; he is well prepared to do so. It was he who, together with General Juan Bautista Molina, one of the most thoroughgoing fascists in Argentina, organized the Milicia Nacionalista, later known as the Guardia Nacional, the vanguard of Argentine fascism. In December, 1942, the Guardia Nacional joined with the Unión Nacional Argentina to form the first totalitarian party of the country, the party of the Recuperación Nacional. Now that he is head of the government, Ramirez has only to follow the road he mapped earlier. He will be supported by the reactionary clique which imposed his appointment as Minister of War upon Castillo. These include the influential former governor of Buenos Aires, Manuel Fresco, so-called "Duce" of Argentina; former Senator Sanchez Sorondo; and Carlos Ibarguren, the biographer of the tyrant Rosas.

Strange that in the midst of the great crusade for freedom a new dictatorship should come into being in Latin America! Stranger still that Latin American dictators should be welcomed in Washington and honored by American universities! President Peñaranda of Bolivia makes a triumphal visit to the United States and is followed by Moriñigo of Paraguay. Will the illustrious President of Honduras and the "great liberal" of Guatemala be the next? The people of the United States—the

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honest citizens, the common men—seem unaware of the profound disorientation, the unutterable disappointment experienced by the peoples of Latin America.

The Latin American dictators, of whom Ramirez is only the newest, are an affront to the cause of the United Nations and a menace to the future peace of America. With the money and arms they are receiving from the arsenal of democracy they are preparing new conflicts. General Peñaranda said not long ago that Bolivian claims to a port will be presented after the war, "at the first propitious opportunity." The Argentine military men now in power consider it one of their most sacred tasks to crush Brazil.

Only a policy of real inter-American democratic cooperation can insure freedom and peace for tomorrow. Argentina's new rulers will offer one of the greatest obstacles to such a policy.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE Führer never makes a mistake" was the Nazi slogan in the seven fat years. Those days are past. On June 19 Goebbels wrote in his weekly article, "Only the most overweening people think that they are above mistakes." He put in a plea for "the sovereign right of occasionally being wrong" and defended the Nazi government against a "widely current" reproach. "The German people have an idea," he said, "that the government alone must be denied the right to make mistakes. Certain elements demand not only that it should analyze the present situation correctly but that it should be able to predict the future. That is asking too much. It is an example of the over-objectivity of certain sanctimonious 'truth fanatics' among us who pardon a foreign government every mistake lest they do it an injustice but never overlook an error of their own government's."

The Herr Minister's defense was along three lines. First, there had not been many false announcements. "It cannot be disputed that the German government has made very few false prognoses. . . . We have certainly won victories we had not predicted more often than we have failed to win victories we had predicted." Secondly, many false announcements were made to confuse the enemy. "That is an allowable deception and often brings success. Of course it is done at the expense of the general credibility of news reports, but the device must nevertheless be used. . . . Not everything that the public now considers a mistake on the part of the leadership was really a mistake. In many cases it was part of the war of nerves." Thirdly, many seemingly false announcements will finally be confirmed—for the present, silence must be preserved. "The enemy must be given no information. The disadvantages we suffer always get out and are often made to appear greater than they are; the rumor-mongers see to that. Our advantages, on the other hand, must often be concealed as war secrets. This puts the government in an extremely unfavorable position with respect to pulbic opinion."

It was a real defense plea. The Propaganda Minister tried to clear his government of the charge of having careened from mistake to mistake, from boast to boast, from lie to lie. What is most interesting about the attempt is the inference to be drawn from it—that the accusation must have been strongly pressed.

About the middle of June German internal propaganda completely changed its tactics about the air raids. Instead of discreetly soft-pedaling the subject, it now assails the public with unvarnished descriptions of the destruction and suffering in the afflicted provinces. The reason for the change was not immediately clear, but at least a contributing cause was the necessity of arousing more sympathy for the victims, great crowds of whom are being evacuated. It is an old complaint that they have not been received very cordially in the districts to which they have been removed. Recently this attitude must have crystallized into outspoken dislike.

"Our fellow-citizens in the most heavily bombed towns believe themselves deserted or forgotten, at any rate not understood," admonished radio commentator Fritzsche on June 19. "They see little evidence of a real desire to help them in the untouched regions." The *Essener Nationalzeitung,* which has long devoted itself to this theme, on June 11 instanced several cases. The father of an Essen man had got lodging for him and his family in the father's town. The local authorities, however, refused to issue the necessary permit. An official of the National Socialist Party was arrested in Bochum because he turned out four women and two children who had been quartered in his house. A man in the country to whom some "pitiful évacués" had been brought burst out in a frenzy: "What do these strangers want? I've already said I had no room. Get out!" He also was arrested.

The May number of the Austrian *Rundschau* describes the reception that 1,200 mothers and 5,200 children from Duisberg met in the province of Styria. It was so hostile that Gauleiter Uberreither issued a proclamation warning innkeepers, artisans, and shopkeepers that if they continued to be disagreeable to the évacués their houses and shops would be closed. It is not surprising that under such circumstances evacuation seems to many a worse fate than being bombed. The *Völkische Beobachter* of June 21 noted that 10,000 persons who no longer had a roof over their head refused, nevertheless, to leave the town. Rather than be transplanted to a hostile world, they live in cellars and holes under the ruins.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Devil in the Piece

THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LABOR, 1918-1939. By Adolf Sturmthal. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

OF THE great heap of books on the European disaster very few have dealt with labor's responsibility for what happened, and these few have been polemical works by sectarian thinkers, designed to show that the collapse was due to the other fellow's mistaken theories about reform or revolution or what-not. Dr. Sturmthal makes a sustained and documented effort to analyze not only what happened in terms of a general theory of fascism, but to put forward a reasoned theory of labor action. This reviewer, who does not accept the Otto Bauer theory of the origin of fascism which the author uses, nevertheless believes this to be the best account of labor history during the great inter-war crisis that has yet appeared. It is less sectarian than John Strachey's books and far more searching than Mr. Laski's extended pamphlets. The excellence of Dr. Sturmthal's surveys alone, apart from his theory, should win for the author the attention of serious men.

Fascism, according to Bauer, comes into existence when there is a balance of class forces neither of which is strong enough to defeat the other. As a result of stalemate and disruption, the masses, and particularly the middle class, then turn to fascism. And, adds Dr. Sturmthal with greater credibility, fascism is born when the labor movement, confronted with such a social crisis, confines itself to what he calls pressure-group politics. Pressure politics, indeed, is the devil in the miracle play. Confine him in the dungeon beneath the stage and before long he leaps up again with a mocking laugh. And this devil is not to be exorcised by merely switching one's allegiance from the reformist to the so-called revolutionary parties, for these latter parties have also thought in terms of pressure rather than of preparing a daring reconstruction of society. By pressure politics the author means, of course, representation in Parliament or strike action in the field that is designed to resist the demands of the employing classes or to improve popular conditions within the existing social order or within the limits of accepted fiscal policy. Dr. Sturmthal, as an expansionist economist of the Swedish school, urges upon the American and European labor movement a consideration of the modest success which Swedish labor achieved. He is not dogmatic about this, however, and perhaps he would agree that expansionist policies are appropriate to countries which have a politically developed agricultural class ready to ally itself with labor, and in which the capitalist forces are relatively weak.

But just as one does not need to accept the Bauer theory of fascism, so one can fully recognize the merits of the author's treatise without being an expansionist economist. For what Dr. Sturmthal does establish is that in great measure the victories of fascism were due to labor's unwillingness to govern, and its disinclination to apply its own proposed remedies, revolutionary or reformist, when in power or office. The example of the British Labor Party will suffice. "It made the mistake," as Laski has said, "of seeking to survive by accepting a Liberal tradition which was already obsolete. Under Mr. MacDonald's leadership, it sought merely to extend the boundaries of social reform. When it made the treatment of the unemployed, instead of the reconstruction of industrial organization, the pivot of its domestic policy, it was in grave danger of assuming that a mere policy of cash concessions to the under-dog would suffice to win popularity for it." The consequence was that the Labor Cabinet split, and a group of its most important leaders, following the logic of their thought, went over to the party which really believes in capitalism.

One of the most original contributions which Dr. Sturmthal makes is his description of European revolutionary parties as merely radical. He is by no means prejudiced against any particular party and recognizes the merits and demerits of them all. But he will not agree, for instance, that the Communist Party was a purely revolutionary organization, though the European debate usually assumed as much. Pinning its inner faith upon a total revolution which it never sought to prepare, the Communist Party could only make more radical demands upon capitalism than its competitors within the working-class movement. It was useless, for example, to shout "Airplanes for Spain" on the streets of Paris if one voted under all circumstances for M. Blum in the Chamber. It was vain for the Communist Party of France to criticize the unfortunate Blum for consenting to non-intervention when the party also urged him not to resign at the moment when resignation was the only means he had of making a protest or a new start. And if it is right of the American Communist Party to soft-pedal social reform now and to oppose President Roosevelt's attempt to limit salaries to $25,000 a year, in the interest of unity, then it was wrong to make such radical demands on the French bourgeoisie as the French party did, when the only real problem of the European movement was how to aid the Spanish Republic.

The conclusion that the author reaches, then, is not the all too common one that European labor went down into the pit because of its meddling with politics, but the contrary one that it failed simply because it was not political enough. Strong enough to hinder the automatic operation of the old laws, powerful enough to keep a one-handed grip upon the machine which the capitalists hitherto had alone directed, able to unsettle the conservative beliefs of millions, even able to fire the imagination and win the loyalty of enormous followings, the European labor movement was fundamentally a vast pressure group, hoping to preserve democracy in a period when preservation meant total reconstruction. It paid for its lack of vision with its life.

With Dr. Sturmthal's detailed historical account of the crises that afflicted Europe this reviewer is in substantial agreement; yet it is inevitable that there should be some obscurity and some inadequacy. To me the least satisfactory chapters are those which deal with Great Britain and with Spain, the two countries I know best. In both cases Dr.

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Sturmthal has too great a readiness to rely merely upon documentary evidence, as the following quotation proves to anyone who took part in the event it describes. Speaking of the transformation of the Spanish popular militia into a regular army, Dr. Sturmthal writes, "After a few weeks President Azaña began to organize a new army. The right-wing Socialists supported this move; so did the Communists." The fact is that the necessity of a regular army was first recognized by the Communist Party of Spain, for a long time the only party earnestly supporting the October decree which it had persuaded the other parties of the Popular Front to accept. The documents, of course, will sustain Dr. Sturmthal's assertion. The future folklore of Madrid will refute it. Too often the European will feel himself whisked across difficult spots by Dr. Sturmthal's too magisterial hand. Yet no other book deals so painstakingly with the role of labor during the long crisis. Because it offers an excellent complement to the work of writers, like Professor Schuman, who largely ignore public opinion, "The Tragedy of European Labor" is compulsory reading for liberals.

RALPH BATES

The Spirit of France

RENAISSANCE. Revue Trimestrielle publiée par l'Ecole Libres des Hautes Etudes, New York. Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2. $2.

THERE are few things in history more tragic than the hush that followed the downfall of France. The army which had been, in D. W. Brogan's words, the shield and sword of freedom was annihilated; the ripest and most humane of cultures was stilled.

On June 18, 1940, General de Gaulle sounded his clarion call, and Fighting France was born anew. Almost as swiftly the France of the spirit resumed her place in the vanguard. At first the army of De Gaulle was pitifully small; the little reviews that appeared in London had a limited circle of readers. But the flame was kept alive.

Gradually Free France, Fighting France, had to be acknowledged as the real France, the only one with which we could deal without betraying our own ideal. And in the same way the intellectual activities of the Free French grew in cohesion and vigor. Under Belgian and Free French auspices, with the generous cooperation of the New School for Social Research, an Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes was created in New York. Henri Focillon, the historian of art, was its first president. Its present head is the philosopher Jacques Maritain. The remarkable group of scholars gathered in this school are now issuing a quarterly aptly called *Renaissance.* The first volume, containing the January and June numbers, has just been released.

Renaissance is at the same time a scholarly, even an academic, publication and a review of a more general character. On the whole, an excellent balance has been maintained. Although some of the essays are erudite, none is abtrusely technical; and those which have the widest appeal are not "popular" in the shallower sense of the term. The book reviews are on a very high level. This is an epitome of a great culture which still provides pioneers in every field.

The Germans and Vichy unite, for their own purpose, in fostering the myth of French decadence; and some Americans have fallen victims to that insidious propaganda. There is no "decadence" in France except among the Quislings. France suffered heavily for our common sins of omission and commission. But her spirit was not broken, and the tradition of a thousand years is still bearing fruit. Of this indomitable life, *Renaissance* is the irrefutable manifestation. The magazine is disinterested, not polemical; it advances no claims. But by its very existence it reminds us of a fact which is blurred in the minds of many journalists and politicians: that without the full cooperation of France world culture would be mutilated and world order precarious.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Virginian Leonardo

JEFFERSON: THE ROAD TO GLORY (1743-1776). By Marie Kimball. Coward-McCann. $4.

TOO much cannot be written about Jefferson. As Mrs. Kimball makes clear in her preface, Jefferson has always been represented partially—in two senses of the word—and it is, I think, increasingly important for the fruitful knowledge of our own past that a difficult, complex, unstandardized figure like Jefferson should become better and better known. In addition to Albert Jay Nock's intelligent reworking of the nineteenth-century biographies and Mr. Mayo's more recent compilation of Jefferson's own words in biographical sequence, we need a detailed treatment which shall not be exclusively intimate, political, picturesque, or artistic but all of these and as much more as the subject requires. Mrs. Kimball, a tried researcher in Jefferson archives, puts the future encyclopedic biographer in her debt by giving him in this volume a great deal of new material and a number of new conclusions affecting the first half of Jefferson's career.

She makes plain, among other things, the important fact that her hero was a rich man, related by marriage and friendship to the ruling families of Virginia and designated by heredity for the task of government. The details she supplies restore the proper feeling for the conditions of American freedom and American independence. Our truest democrat before Lincoln was such by conviction and reflection; he was, in the cant phrase, "a traitor to his class"; and in all he said and did politically he was going against the current of established respectability, conservative right thinking, and safe courses.

It appears at the same time that in matters of thought, art, and belief Jefferson was a balanced mixture of classic and romantic, traditionalism and originality. Making his own way through the prevailing influences of the time, whether in gardening or political theory, Jefferson turned out to be a very precocious and self-assured *uomo universale,* a Virginian Leonardo, interested in all things but aloof and spiritually solitary, except perhaps for the ten years of his fortunate and happy marriage.

This, together with a very striking portrait of Patrick Henry, is the main contribution of Mrs. Kimball's learned pages. Unfortunately, it takes a little digging and reassembling to obtain. For her book is less an account of the first

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half of a man's life than a series of fourteen monographs on aspects of a nascent career. In truth, it is hard to discern the writer's plan and intention, for she gives us, mainly about Patrick Henry, passages of genuine historical writing—chronological order, balanced grouping of facts, and narrative art. The rest, which is the bulk of the volume, is arranged topically and neglects both proportion and narrative style. Secondary characters receive the same kind of attention as the main figures: for instance, if the author mentions an unimportant clergyman and happens to know the dimensions of his church, the dimensions are set down. In the midst of interesting substance we get three pages discussing the quality of paper and the form of handwriting in various portions of Jefferson's diary. All this is important to the scholar and I do not scorn it; but it is scaffolding, which should disappear from the finished edifice, or at most should be stowed away in the sub-basement of footnotes. The common reader, therefore, must be prepared to climb his way through much timber work in order to get rewarding glimpses of the surface and structure that interest him.

From the evident skill with which Mrs. Kimball has, on the one hand, collected her materials and, on the other, composed the revolutionary episodes starring Patrick Henry, one may hope that she will consider the present work a sketch and source book preparing the way to the complete biography she can and ought to produce. In that future work it is also to be hoped that certain ambiguities of expression and some slipshod phraseology that mar the present pages will be avoided: they are bound to seem worse than they are in contrast to the high intelligence and felicitous writing of which the author is capable.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Wisdom of Asia

MEN AND IDEAS: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Lin Mousheng. The John Day Company. $2.50.

THE WISDOM OF CHINA AND INDIA. By Lin Yutang. Random House. $3.95.

LIN YUTANG is known in China as a philologist and wit; Lin Mousheng is an American-trained political scientist. Outside of their surnames, and the fact that each is trying to serve both China and the United States by popularizing Chinese thought, the two authors have only their nationality and style manuals in common. Both use the partial reforms for transliterating Chinese terms into Roman letters which Dr. Lin Yutang has devised. This consists in retaining most of the old, standard Wade-Giles spelling of Chinese and then running the words together. Thus Mo Tzu (pronounced something like *maw dz*) is spelled "Motse." Book titles become such unidentifiable monstrosities as "Kuoku Lunheng" or "Chungkuo Shehhuishih Lunchan," which no lay American could pronounce without a Dr. Lin at his elbow. Apart from this irritating but unimportant idiosyncrasy, each work marks a major contribution to the field of Western popular writing about China.

The younger Dr. Lin has produced a general survey of Chinese political thought which reveals the richness, integ-

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rity, and variety of Chinese speculation about government. Fifteen major thinkers are presented. Each is labeled with a tag which orients him in terms of Western political thinking: "the metaphysical monarchist," "the sociological anarchist," and so on. The life of each thinker is given, together with a persuasively plain appraisal of his historical background and political role; the rest of each discussion is reconstruction—frequently brilliant—of the political theory in wholly Western terms. The job of transposing Chinese ideas and values into Western terms is at best a ticklish one. Dr. Lin proceeds with superb assurance and bold imagination. His work will stir up storms in many academic teacups, but it is apt to remain standard for some years as the first attempt, in a Western language, to outline the general development of Chinese political thinking.

Many Chinese theorists and treatises are here presented for the first time. The novice in Far Eastern studies will do well to seek parallel translations before relying too heavily on Lin Mousheng's characterizations, but the general reader may treat himself to the rare experience of entering fresh, new, hitherto unexplored fields of political ideas. "Men and Ideas" will excite any intelligent American with its revelation of Chinese political versatility. As a clear, popular summary of the stuff of Chinese political thinking, the work is an important datum for considering post-war China; obviously no people with such a past could drift into the absurdities of fascist dogma.

Lin Yutang's "The Wisdom of China and India" deals with wisdom only in the sense in which the term is employed by publishers. The omnibus is a magnificent hodge-podge, and constitutes first-class entertainment. Dr. Lin has literally shoveled in the material. The Indian section includes samples of Hindu and Buddhist writings, including some superb translations of the fiery, dogmatic sermons of Gautama; and it also includes, in toto, Sir Edwin Arnold's Victorian classic, "The Light of Asia." The Chinese section is equally odd, since the bulk of the selections is philosophical, but the concluding portion is made up of what Dr. Lin likes in modern Chinese fiction and belles-lettres. The fact that these works had already been translated by Lin Yutang but had been published only in fugitive bilingual editions by the West Wind Press of Shanghai may have influenced the editor into taking materials which he found accessible. The net effect is as though a compendium from Plato, Aristotle, Jesus, and Aquinas concluded with some of Poe's stories, favorite passages from the "Pickwick Papers," Bierce's epigrams, and Barbellion's "Journal of a Disappointed Man." The reader will get the biggest value per dollar which has been seen for a long time in the bookstores; and even scholars will buy the book because of its invaluable accessible reprints of much important material—with Lin Yutang's own translations not the least important.

Lin Yutang proceeds with ponderous archness to introduce the average American to both Chinese and Indian cultures. Only a literary masochist would read the book through from its beginning to the end on page 1,104, but there are few literate persons who could not find hours of enjoyment, some pleasures of new discovery, and a great deal of information in the volume. The anthology does bring China and India closer to Americans by introducing everything from

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hymns to quips. Political matters are disregarded by Lin Yutang, except for those writers whose work is wholly political; but he reveals the springs of taste and temperament from which all politics must spring. PACIFICUS

By Way of Egypt

PIONEER TO THE PAST: THE STORY OF JAMES HENRY BREASTED. By Charles Breasted. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THE life of James Henry Breasted falls into a typically American pattern which for all its familiarity is not easy to understand. The qualities that made him a great Orientalist —unswerving determination, tremendous labor, vision—were accompanied by a growing sense of frustration in his personal life. He considered his personal life a failure; yet it was perhaps the recognition of that failure which spurred him on to greater achievement in his work. His emotion was indwelling; it was passive and inarticulate, characterized by renunciation, tenderness, and infinite patience. He wondered about the source of his own ambition and the confidence he inspired in others. The feeling of mystery concerning the "cunning laws" governing his own life and the life of ancient man continuously inflects his writings. There were times when he saw the reason for his loneliness in his choice of profession.

> The career of man down into Christian times—*that* is a fascinating study! . . . I can only study his early progress while regarding him in the mass. I cannot follow him into the ages of the development of the individual, when he discovers the worth of himself as a soul. This leaves unused in myself capabilities of comprehension and sympathy which I long to employ. I wonder if we get another chance somewhere else to do it all over again in the light of what we have learned here.

Breasted promised himself that before he was forty he would become the leading authority on Egyptian history, history based on the original monuments, not on German research. Behind that promise were the sacrifices and unquestioning faith of his family. He studied pharmacy for four years and worked as a prescription clerk until a spiritual crisis led him to the Chicago Theological Seminary. He soon abandoned his desire to preach the gospel and finally made his way to Berlin and Egyptology. The year he received his doctor's degree—his letter to his family describing the examination is very moving—he married and took his wife on an "epigraphic honeymoon" up the Nile in a *dahabiyeh* named Olga. Somehow that trip has a homely American quality which makes it seem for all the world as if they were floating down the Mississippi in a river boat.

Throughout his life he was fond of referring to himself as an Illinois prairie boy. He had that kind of melancholy homelessness, as if his personality were lost in incomprehensible vistas of space. The yearning is the same whether he is looking at the mountains of Wyoming or at the ruins of cities dead 5,000 years. Yet the man whose longing for a home was so profound built a house in Chicago designed after a Renaissance Italian villa. "It lacked," says Charles Breasted, "what my family needed above all else—the quality of sunlight."

Sharing with other Americans of his time the sense of living in an amorphous and traditionless present, he was impelled toward an all-embracing past, as if the past alone, being secure, could give meaning to the present. Breasted went back as far as it was possible to go in his search for the whole tradition of mankind. Moreover, he did not merely study the history of early civilizations; he discovered what never before had been known. And in the ancient beginnings, in the "New Past" as he called it, he found hope for the future—"an infinity of possibilities not even faintly suggested by the present!" His last look, "The Dawn of Conscience," expounds the belief that "the culmination of a developing universe is *character*"—the outcome of the struggle between the age-old passion for power and the new-born conscience.

But Breasted was not a philosopher, nor did he claim to be, and the far-off victory of character is a hope more fervent than confident. The utopian dreams were still a retreat from reality; neither past nor future could equal the life he failed to live in the present. As he grew older he was cast back into the arms of his own past. The man and his work merge in the illuminating anecdote of his discovery of an inscription of an ancient king. As he deciphered the name, a vision rose before him of a far-off Sunday school and a group of village boys who "with heads together over a Bible were struggling with the difficult proper names of an old Hebrew chronicle." And there was the name, carved nearly 3,000 years ago.

The heartbreaking battle to finance his expeditions, the curious story of the Cairo museum project, the exciting description of his 2,000-mile journey up the Nile, the strange history of Gracilla Smith and Salib Claudius—these are only a few of the extremely interesting chapters in Dr. Breasted's career. Particularly interesting in the light of events present and to come was his experience in the Near East in the post-war world of 1919-20. ("My God," said Lord Curzon, "to think that at such a time His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs should have been ignorant of the facts you have brought me!") The hope in America which he found in Iraq and Syria embarrassed him; it assured his safety and his disillusion. Finally, I have never read a more fascinating account of the opening of King Tutenkhamon's tomb or of the astounding ramifications of that international episode at which both Charles Breasted and his father were present. It is amazing to learn, by the way, that to this day no scientific or even adequate treatment of the discovery has been published.

Charles Breasted has made scrupulous use of original biographical material. The fact that he shared so many of his father's experiences has enabled him to be beautifully, not stodgily, objective. He has also been wise enough not to exclude himself as the small boy puzzled at the peace and calm of other homes, who was never able to conquer, as his father was not able to understand, "the overwhelmingly depressing effect upon me of the dead world which was his supreme inspiration." But most important are the depth and constraint of his understanding, which bring to life so unobtrusively his father's great kindliness.

H. P. LAZARUS

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Digest of Clausewitz

THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF CLAUSEWITZ. Presented by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph I. Greene. Longmans, Green and Company. $1.50.

VERY few works have had as great an influence on military thought as Clausewitz's monumental "On War." Military leaders and writers—Jackson, Foch, Moltke, Fuller, Schlieffen, and many others—have freely praised Clausewitz and admitted their reliance on him for basic ideas. The service regulations of our own and other armies quote him, often unconsciously to be sure because his teachings have become so much an accepted part of war doctrine that their origin is overlooked. Longmans, Green is to be congratulated for bringing out "The Living Thoughts of Clausewitz," thereby filling a definite need for a modern English translation of a great book long out of print and difficult to secure. This compact volume of some 200 pages provides an abbreviated but excellent version of the work of the great Prussian thinker on war.

In a short review one can only indicate very briefly its contents. It is divided into seven main sections: The Nature of War, Theory of War, Strategy, Offense and Defense, Plan of War, War and Politics, and Conclusions. These in turn are minutely subdivided. The whole book is logically organized, systematic and comprehensive in its treatment of each subject, profound in thought and at the same time lucid in expression. While occasional illustrations from the field of tactics are obsolete, the conclusions drawn from the studies of past wars, especially the wars of Napoleon, are substantially as sound as they were 150 years ago. The United Nations after the current war, for example, will do well to heed the warning that in war the result is not absolute: "The conquered state often sees in it only a passing evil which may be repaired in after times by political combinations."

DONALD W. MITCHELL

Fiction in Review

WITH her second novel the author of "Young Man with a Horn" deserts the jam session for the life of the mind; what hot jazz there is in Dorothy Baker's "Trio" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50) sounds, as it were, off stage. Based on a theme dear to Henry James—the impact upon an innocent American of a complicated European—"Trio" is set in a Western university town and among university people; it is even courageous with a certain amount of intelligent talk about the nineteenth-century poets. I find this a pleasant progression in a young writer, from jazz musicians to teachers of French literature, and I wish Mrs. Baker could have made the advance with both feet and a fully adventuring intellect. But it is precisely as a novel of the mind that "Trio" fails, and quite despite Mrs. Baker's intention and craft. It is an enormously readable book, swift and tight, polished to the point of brilliance, and plotted with the kind of dramatic suspense which makes it impossible, once you have opened to its first page, to put it down again without racing through to the end. And yet, almost in the measure that we are seduced by Mrs. Baker's craft, we feel betrayed, finally, by the essential poverty of her thought.

There is enough "mystery" in "Trio" to make one careful about giving away the plot, but I suppose it is all right to report that it is about two women in a homosexual relation, with trimmings. One woman is a cultivated Parisienne who is a professor of French literature, and the other a young American graduate student whom the French lady has taken under her elegant bat-like wing. Then there is a young man who falls in love with the American girl. The ensuing triangle is capable of an infinite variety of treatment, but unfortunately Mrs. Baker's approach is a good deal closer to Hollywood-Broadway than to James.

I mean this in several ways. In the first place, it is the stated intention of the author to mold her novel as closely as possible to the form of the drama: Mrs. Baker tells her story largely by action and dialogue, and she even goes so far as to divide her book into three parts, or acts, and to limit her cast of characters to three leads and her scene to two simple sets. But this strikes me as a kind of novelistic suicide: I keep wondering what virtues Mrs. Baker finds in the drama form to warrant the assimilation to it of the novel form. Suppose it does add pace to a story, it also imposes upon the novel an arbitrary and mechanical unity and robs it of the diversity which is its peculiar charm. Then, and this is exemplified in all Mrs. Baker's characters, there seems to be a blood connection between theater techniques and cliché notions of characters. Mrs. Baker's people are not people but Hollywood stencils. Her young American girl, for instance, goes through her harassing emotional experiences equipped with little more in the way of a characterization (I do not mean character) than a loose sweater, a string of pearls, and a lock of hair which needs constantly to be brushed back from her face. Ray MacKenzie, the young man of "Trio," is one of those sturdy independent types (he enters the story as a kitchen helper at a university tea) who turns out to be simply John Garfield without the sterling neurotic accent. In other words, for all that Mrs. Baker's book is supposed to be about educated people, it is really about a Girl, a Villainess, and the Boy who meets the Girl. And consequently the French poetry which is so much the concern of the two women might just as well be the secret plans in a Hitchcock movie.

Indeed, in all sorts of significant ways "Trio" reminds me of certain Hitchcock films. There is the same sense of the firm directorial hand slowly losing its grip, of the spacious opening so wide with promise and of the gaps closing without being filled, the same sense, at last, of having been profoundly cheated intellectually and emotionally, of having had your nerves twanged. There is the same craftiness about craft and the same assumption that an interest in psychopathology is equivalent to a deep understanding of human motive and conflict. The trap of the over-slick story—especially of the over-slick story of psychological horror masquerading as a story of psychological insight—seems to me to be a particularly bad trap for a young writer to fall into. If it is Mrs. Baker's notable writing talent which tempts her into it, perhaps she should be assured that some very fine novelists have for good reason been willing to rest in a less obvious technical proficiency.

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IN BRIEF

A HUNDRETH SUNDRIE FLOWRES. By George Gascoigne. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by C. T. Prouty. University of Missouri Press. $2.50.

In this splendid reprint of the original edition of 1573 the Flowres still yield "sundrie sweete fauours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smellyng noses of learned Readers." Gascoigne, one of the most fascinating of early Elizabethan figures, by the very amplitude of his career—he was poet, dramatist, critic, moralist as well as soldier, adventurer, and courtier—beautifully demonstrates the accommodation of native English tradition to foreign Renaissance influence. Although most of the Flowres are transplanted from the formal Italian gardens of Petrarch and Ariosto, the lovely Lullabie and the charming And if I did what then? are as fragrant as ever. Especially interesting as an example of one of the first novels in English is a love story in prose and verse concerning the adventures of a courtier and his mistress and the means by which they at last succeed—"The coales were quicke, the woode was drie, & I began to toste"—"in accomplishing of common comfort."

TRAVELS IN AFGHANISTAN, 1937-1938. By E. F. Fox. The Macmillan Company. $4.

Mr. Fox, an American mining engineer, was employed by a firm of concessionaires to explore Afghanistan from end to end. The interest of his volume, to others than geographers, will lie in the author's vivid and sympathetic account of a very independent people. It should also be of use to military students in need of information about this mountainous buffer between British India and the U. S. S. R.

RECORDS

VICTOR'S June list offers the Bridal Chamber Duet from Act 3 of "Lohengrin," sung by Flagstad and Melchior with the Victor Symphony under McArthur (Set 897, $2.50 plus tax). The music is good early Wagner; but the important thing about the set is its superbly lifelike reproduction of one of the most phenomenally beautiful voices in history. The set also reminds us that it wasn't only her voice that made Flagstad remarkable, but also her musical feeling and taste in phrasing.

Bjoerling too delights us not only with one of the most beautiful tenor voices of recent years, but with the fine musical taste with which it is used in music like the fine *E il sol dell' anima* duet from "Rigoletto" and the trashy *O soave fanciulla* from "La Boheme" (11-8440, $1 plus tax). Hjoerdis Schymberg, the soprano who sings with him, has a voice which is agreeable in its lower range but gets quite acidulous higher up, more so in the "Boheme" duet than in the "Rigoletto." This may be due partly to the recording that gives Bjoerling's voice a metallic rasp or edge in fortissimo in the "Boheme" duet.

Decca's second volume in the Brunswick Collectors' Series (Set B-1001, $3.50) offers a group of performances recorded by Red Nichols. Four of them were done in July, 1930, with a group that included Jack Teagarden, Benny Goodman, Joe Sullivan, and Gene Krupa: "China Boy" and "Peg o' My Heart" (80004), "The Sheik of Araby" and "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble (80005). Of these "China Boy" has the most vitality as a group performance, and has two excellent choruses by Sullivan; but Goodman plays in the twittering-of-birds style that Panassié denounces in his recent book (which I'll get around to soon). It is surprising, in fact, to hear how poor in invention and bad in tone Goodman's playing is in these performances. On the other hand Teagarden is invariably excellent; and his playing and Sullivan's make "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" and "The Sheik" worth listening to (the "Shim-Me-Sha-Wabble" is not the performance originally issued by Brunswick, but one pressed from a second master). Two performances were recorded in April, 1929, with Teagarden, Goodman, and Krupa: "Indiana" (second master) and "Dinah" (80006), with excellent playing by Teagarden, and a good solo by Goodman in "Indiana" (which wavers in pitch in my copy). And two were done in February, 1930, with Teagarden, Jimmy Dorsey, and Krupa: "Tea for Two" and "I Want to Be Happy" (80007), of which the first is excessively slow and melting, but the second has exciting ensemble vitality. Dorsey's playing is facile, but his round, solid tone is a relief after Goodman's.

There is much more of that ensemble vitality to be heard in the 1928 performances of Jimmy Noone's Apex Club Orchestra reissued in another Brunswick volume (Set B-1006, $3.50): "Apex Blues" and "Sweet Lorraine" (second master) (80023), "I Know That You Know" and "Sweet Sue" (80024), "Four or Five Times" (second master) and "Every Evening" (80025), "Monday Date" and "Blues My Naughty Sweetie Gives to Me" (80026). Though I enjoy Noone's big, round, firm tone and powerful slow style in the two blues, and his rhythmically incisive florid style in "Every Evening" and "Monday Date," it is Earl Hines's playing that I find most exciting in these performances, especially in "Four or Five Times" and "Monday Date." It is, in fact, the only thing I like in "Sweet Lorraine" and "Sweet Sue."

Renewed requests for my opinion of sapphire needles lead me to quote from Stipulation No. 3644 signed by the Federal Trade Commission and the Electrovox Company concerning the Walco needle. The company agrees that it will not use the word "permanent" to describe the needle, or any other words "to convey the impression or belief that said devices are of such unlimited span of usefulness that they will continue or endure without fundamental change when employed for their designed uses"; and that it will not use the words "will not wear down records" to describe the results of use of the needle, or any statement "to cause the belief or impression that contact between a revolving record and the said needle will not cause impairment, as, for example, that due to wear of either the needle or record."

The fact is that ordinary records containing abrasive wear down even a diamond point, which is harder than a sapphire, and harder also than the miraculous metal alloys you have been reading about; and that a sufficiently worn jewel point will damage records. A jewel point should be used only in a specially designed light pickup of which it is an integral and permanent part; then the rate of wear is sufficiently slow. What should not be used is a jewel point on a needle that is inserted into the ordinary pickup weighing, say, two and a half ounces. With such a pickup nothing more "permanent" should be used than the chromium-tipped needle—a fresh one for each set of records; and the best thing to use is a fresh steel needle for each record-side.

Will Corporal G. L. Langley tell me where to address an answer to his letter?

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

London Carries on

Dear Sirs: I met a young American the other day who had just come over and was looking rather beautiful in his pale trousers and darker coat. He was all enthusiasm and was praying for a little bombing! To be without a blitz seemed to him to have lived in vain, or at least to have crossed the Atlantic in vain. We begged him to stop, pointing to sundry ruins about us, explaining that our own house had been blasted, and insisting that it really wasn't so jolly while it was happening; but he evidently did something about it, for last week we had an alarm or two every night while the full moon lasted.

The description by the Germans of their grand new bombs and the terror with which London received them is, however, rather the measure of German propaganda. Most of us slept in our beds very peacefully, and only a few outlying parts received attention from the Germans. Bombs are bombs, even if they are few, and these of course smashed up some houses, but the only frightening thing about these propaganda raids over nearly all London has been the row made by our own barrage. That is stupendous, especially the rockets, which make a noise going up like that of bombs coming down—only much more so. I was praying that there might not be a raid on Friday night, which is my fire night, since in any case turning out at three in the morning is a nuisance, but just as I was thinking it was all right and they wouldn't come, off went the siren and out I had to turn and, with a companion, go and watch the Embankment. For five minutes the noise was deafening—all our own stuff—and the sky was pricked with what looked like little sparks. Then one of the wardens came along, and we watched something red in the sky which broke into several pieces. We are supposed to report flares, though this didn't look like one. The warden reported it, and it proved to be an airplane which was being brought down. I don't really like people to die, but when the Germans squeal about our barbarity I do sometimes wonder what they think other people believe, especially as at the same time they tell their own people of terrific raids over London.

In the meantime we go to plays—many of them far away from the war, such as Restoration plays or Russian plays or some Shakespeare; we try to shop, but though the windows look full there is very little in the shops when it comes down to buying something; what you can do for a coupon is common conversation, far more than the huge prices of clothes for all but utility clothes, of which there are very good exemplars. Girls all go bare-headed and bare-legged—indeed, I was at an interdepartmental conference at one of the ministries the other day and two women pundits turned up with large mottled bare legs. Liquor is very difficult to get and costs a fortune. Rubber has disappeared, and we are wondering what to do about the various purposes for which elastic is necessary. But perhaps the most noticeable change is the disappearance into uniform of all the twenty-year-olds or thereabouts. There are the A. T. S. girls of the Army, the Waafs of the Air Force, and the Wrens of the Royal Navy. The latter look the smartest and are also perhaps most carefully picked. But they all look charming. Uniform has become an age mark, and everybody not in it is either very young, or getting on a bit.

We are painfully shabby and untidy, I am sorry to say. If you see somebody smart, she is generally American or Canadian. London seems full of these, and in buses you notice them everywhere, many of them of course in uniform, which is very becoming to them. If you could come straight to London from pre-war days, you would find it extraordinarily changed, even though the parks and to some extent the flowers, are at their loveliest—green mingled with blossom. Although this should have been a bad spring, there seems to be a wealth of flowers everywhere. The ducks are ornamental in the parks, too. I often wonder how they feed them. Keeping pets—even the harmless necessary cat—is very difficult, and some butchers have a private system by which cats become "registered customers," that is, if the holder of a ration book deals at a certain shop the butcher will keep dreadful-looking delicacies such as "lights" for them.

I want sometime to write to you what we are doing about planning, but I must stop now. M. H.

London, May 26

In Defense of Banks

Dear Sirs: Charles W. Sherman of Vallejo, California, whose letter was published in *The Nation* of May 29 under the title Old Hickory Was Right, will be surprised if he sees this answer to his letter. His first surprise will be at the fact that a banker reads *The Nation* religiously and finds it of great value in helping him in his effort to arrive at a fair and just analysis of the problems now confronting the world. Mr. Sherman's second surprise might be caused by a realization of how ignorant he is of how the banks operate, and why. This letter would not be written except for the fact that there are undoubtedly many men just as uninformed as Mr. Sherman is on this subject.

Mr. Sherman says that "too many bank officials have absconded with the people's money." I warrant that over the years there have been many more bank officials who have scraped the bottom of their own pockets in their effort to protect their depositors against the inevitable losses caused by breakdowns of the economic system.

In the case of very few bank failures have the depositors lost "all their deposits." Nearly always there was some salvage for the depositor, where there was none for the banker himself or his stockholders.

In the third paragraph of his letter Mr. Sherman calls attention to the fact that there were times when banks could afford to pay 3 per cent interest on savings accounts and there were no such things as service charges. He is quite right. In those times banks could obtain from 4 to 6 per cent on their self-liquidating loans to the largest corporations in the country, and even government bonds yielded 4¼ per cent. Now, that the demand for loans of all kinds has dried up, and the government bonds which the banks are expected to purchase pay ⅜ per cent or ⅞ per cent, the average rate received by most banks on the total of their deposits and capital is little over 1 per cent. Commercial banks still paying 1 per cent for savings are running that department at a loss.

Of course Mr. Sherman did not stop to think that there is such a thing as "overhead" in the banking business. Where does he think the bank gets the money to pay the rent, taxes, salaries,

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stationery, etc.? It costs on the average about 50 cents a month for a bank to carry a checking account. Each item deposited or withdrawn from a bank costs money to handle.

It is not true that the government deposits funds in each bank to meet its checks that are presented. These checks have to be collected from the government in the usual way and take the usual time. Many banks cashing government checks for non-customers without charge are merely lending money without interest, besides furnishing a very useful and convenient service to which the non-customer is not entitled. In addition the Treasury Department has warned the banks not to cash government checks for people they don't know, as the banks have to accept the liability for guaranteeing the indorsement to the government. This guaranty runs for many years.

Mr. Sherman does not know that it costs about $3 to put a loan on the bank's books. Does he expect to borrow $100 for thirty days at 6 per cent simple interest, for which he would pay 50 cents and the bank would lose $2.50?

Of course banks must operate at a profit or they are not safe places for the people to deposit their money. Mr. Sherman would certainly not like to carry his funds in a bank that he knew was losing money and impairing its surplus and capital, which are paid in by the stockholders or built up out of earnings for his protection. I am afraid that Mr. Sherman just did not think it through when he wrote his letter.

F. R. VON WINDEGGER

St. Louis, Mo., June 15

Strategy, Not Views

Dear Sirs: As my article Strategy for Negroes in the issue of June 26 was sent you in February, some of the contemporary allusions are now a little faded. Understandably you have changed my original comment on Soviet policy, since what I then suggested as probable has meanwhile come to pass.

But I regret the several other alterations you have made, apparently to spare Negro sensibilities. My own view and my experience is that the Negro deserves and relishes candor like any other man.

Apparently your solicitude springs from a total misconception of my theme. Your elaborate introductory disclaimer explains that you published my article to demonstrate the gap between your position and that of even the most advanced Southern liberals. Now I doubt whether I am qualified to represent Southern liberals, and as I was born in Pennsylvania, many of them would hardly accept me. That, however, is beside the point. In my article my views are never mentioned and, indeed, have nothing to do with the subject, for I was discussing not how I felt toward the Negro but how the Negro had best act toward the white man.

Naturally I have views on the Negro, but they are held by a minority North and South. Those who advise the Negro to act as if we were in the majority are therefore strategically unrealistic.

The Negro himself has in the past shown realism on this very point. He has given his allegiance, not to John Brown, but to one who denounced the old explosivist—Abraham Lincoln. Times change, but principles do not. I believe that in facing this problem, one of the most baffling in social history, our guide should still be the leader who balanced compassion with wisdom and sought, as we should now, only the utmost the generation can give.

JAMES BOYD

New York, June 30

Frontiers as Barriers

Dear Sirs: There is a real danger that the disputes which threaten to break out between various members of the United Nations over frontiers in Europe after the defeat of Hitler may fan the flames of isolationism among the American people and lead again to a withdrawal by the American government from cooperation in organizing the world for peace.

Under such circumstances, the duty of progressives is less to take sides regarding the location of boundaries, than to try to mobilize opinion in favor of reducing in every way possible the importance of frontiers as barriers to the flow of men, ideas, and goods moving in both directions.

Not where frontiers are but what they are is the most important question. As a matter of fact, this was the unanimous conclusion reached by a group of eminent Social Democratic refugees from the Axis nations and from those fighting them, and there is little doubt that what is left of the Labor and Socialist International would throw its full weight behind the program of reducing the importance of frontiers throughout the world.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, April 1

There's a Difference

Dear Sirs: Although in my clearly unfavorable review of Ilya Ehrenburg's "The Fall of Paris" in your issue of January I would have wished to give the author at least his nominal due, I see that the "h" was dropped from his name. It is unimportant—I have learned that the spelling has been subject to this variation in the past. But I very much regret that a serious distortion in the political sense of the review was printed. I represent Mr. Ehrenburg as saying that the French workers "were sold out by the league between fascism and democracy," whereas what I wrote in my original was that according to "The Fall of Paris" the French workers "were sold out by the league between fascism and the Social Democracy"—which is quite a different matter. I shall be grateful if you will call this printing error to the attention of your readers.

DIANA TRILLING

New York City, June 29

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THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N. Y. Price 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

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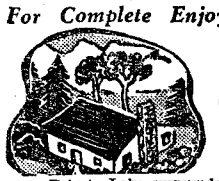

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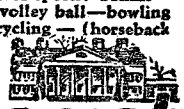

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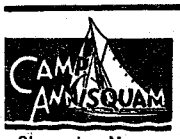

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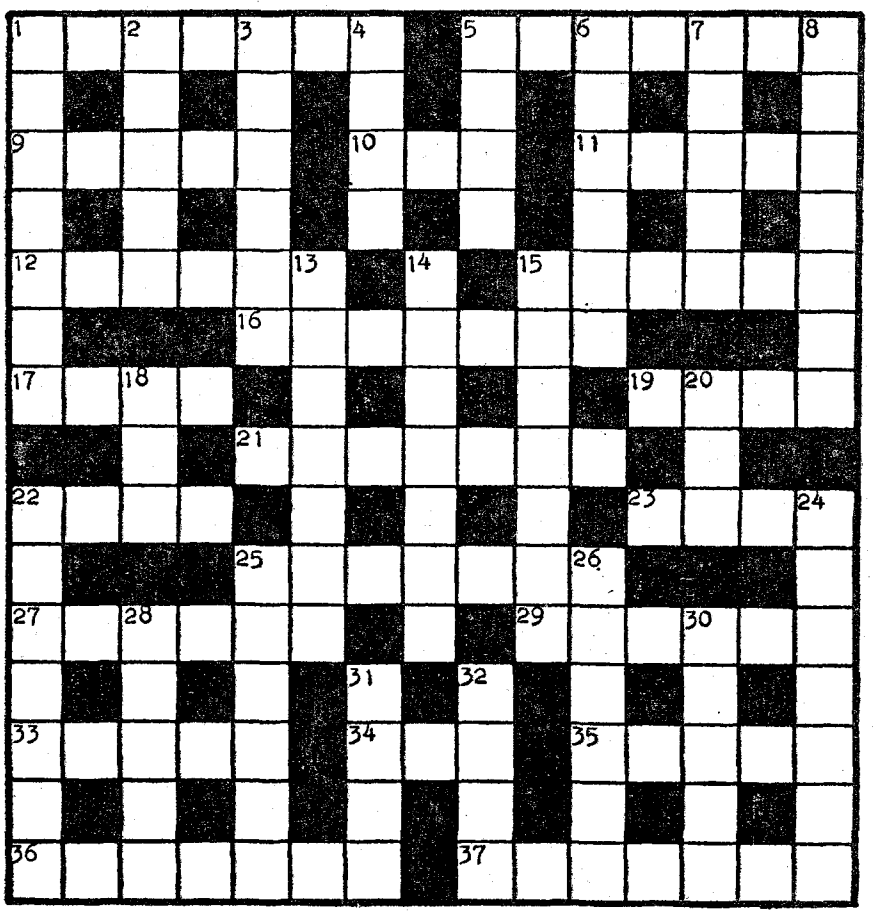
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 21

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 & 5 Pleased with your mail?
9 A close race
10 In the minority
11 A long berry
12 Always up in the air and harping on something
15 A latter-day Norman
16 The clue you solve first?
17 A change of mood
19 Describes the infantryman who tried to stop the tank
21 If marriage is a 36, this must be a sort of gambling debt!
22 Misled with no doctor about
23 A permanent one lasts about six months—ask the girls!
25 They keep coming round with monotonous irregularity
27 Ladies are changeable in respect of these
29 This, however, is not so hard
33 What is this may or may not be available (two words, 2 and 3)
34 What Mills became when the manuscript disappeared
35 Such a crowd is not necessarily slow in the uptake
36 Game of chance
37 This rat might be wanting something to drink

DOWN

1 Is always getting upset over trifles
2 A point often driven home at the dinner table
3 Struggle
4 Trodden underfoot for twisting the lion's tail
5 A game or a bird, but not a game bird
6 A latent gift
7 This bore sounds keen
8 Garment that fits the unmarried to a T
13 In burst of wit, Sarah doesn't stick to the truth
14 Put me in first
15 Stupid
18 There's no fuel like an --- fuel
20 Mix a drink
22 A capital thing to put on a handkerchief
24 Zealous might be the nearest
25 Affords some protection to one's arms in levees
26 Caucasian chief
28 Crow: anyhow, it's no longer last month
30 Beg this for a novice
31 Part of the make-up of a sprite
32 Nice girl, this! She monopolizes only half the umbrella!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 20

ACROSS:—1 SCRUPLES; 8 PACIFIC; 9 ESTONIAN; 10 EROSION; 12 RURAL; 13 SAGEST; 14 IRADE; 15 GUNMAN; 17 MELEE; 22 AGONY; 23 ASSAIL; 24 CAUSE; 26 PLAINT; 28 SCRAP; 29 APHASIA; 30 MAGNESIA; 31 ALL ILLS; 32 CASEMENT.

DOWN:— 1 STEERAGE; 2 RETIRING; 3 PENAL; 4 ELAPSE; 5 NACRE; 6 PIASTRE; 7 GIRONDE; 10 EGRET; 11 OSIERS; 16 ANGELS; 18 INDIA; 19 LACROSSE; 20 ELEPHANT; 21 TADPOLE; 22 ASPASIA; 25 STRATA; 27 AISLE; 28 SENSE.

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